

THE RULERS OF BARODA.

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PREFACE.

To this little history the name has been given of "The Rulers of Baroda." It deals with the political careers of those men and classes who have exercised authority over the people of a large portion of Gujarát during, now, more than a century and a half: namely, the Gáikvád Rájás, their relations, their ministers, the military nobles, the money-lenders, the farmers of revenue, and the sacerdotal or clerkly classes. It says something, too, of the Peshvás, the British Residents, their Native Agents, and others who at one time or another have shared in the authority of the Gáikváds and the Maráthá party that followed them. Of the physical aspect of the country of Gujarát, of its people, their customs and manners, of the cities and holy places, little or nothing has been said.

The book has been written with the double view of serving as a slight work of reference for public servants, and of affording information to young men who are about to pass from school or college into public life. It is chiefly that the latter may not be puzzled or bored with too minute details that certain lists of accounts, of expenses and receipts, and other matters, have been placed among notes to which the curious only need turn. In the same way, short biographies of some prominent men,

doubtful or conjectural facts, and occasional dissertations, have been relegated to small print at the end of the chapter.

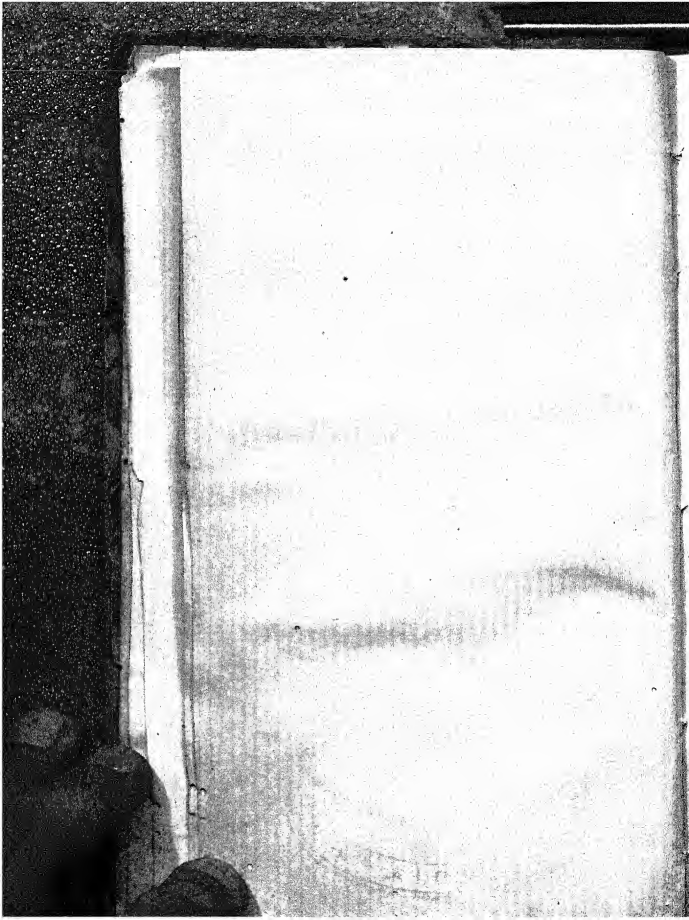
The chief reasons for writing the book are very simple. It seems a pity that there should be no consecutive account of the main events in the history of so important a State as that of Baroda. The nearest approach to such an account is Colonel Wallace's "Gáikvād and his relations with the British Government," and there will probably appear before long a "Baroda Gazetteer." But neither work is likely to be within the reach of the persons for whom this book is principally designed. Again, however faulty the attempt here made may be, the present moment seems to be a fit one for its undertaking, for old things are now rapidly making way for new, and a record of the former should be plainly given before their memory becomes dimmed.

The main sources from which information has been derived are English : Tod's Rájasthán, Forbes' Rás Málá, Major Watson's contribution to the Gazetteer of Gujarát, Grant Duff's History of the Maráthás, Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, Major Wallace's History ; and a large number of records in the Baroda Residency, a pile of Blue Books, and two or three MS. Précis of Histories, with some dozen other works, have been drawn upon. If Mr. Baine's portion of the Gujarát Gazetteer had appeared early enough, it would have been laid under contribution to supplement some omissions. Nor has it been thought necessary to acknowledge the

use made of Standard or Government works, as this book does not pretend to possess any literary merit. It is true that advantage has also been taken of the few obtainable Maráthá MSS. and of some Records in the State Daftar, while the opinions on certain points of some native gentlemen have been collected: but for the most part the sources from which information has been derived are English. If some day a native of the country were to compile a History of the State from, say, Maráthá Records regarded from a Maráthá point of view, the result would be more valuable than the one now obtained.

As the ground gone over is in many parts new, important facts may have been omitted and inaccuracies have been suffered to creep in. Should any reader kindly take notice of such shortcomings and point them out to the author, he will contribute to the improvement of the next edition. There are portions of the history which require elucidation or amplification, and they require it because materials have been wanting to the writer. The history of the Girásiás, of the slow conquest of the tributary States not included in Kathiávád, of the Bráhmans of Gujarát and of the Deccan and Concan, and of many other matters, has been slurred over.





CHAPTER I.

HINDU KINGS OF GUJARÁT—THE CHÁVAÐÁ, CHALUKYA, OR
SOLANKI AND WÁGHELÁ DYNASTIES.

KRISHNA, of the line of Yádava of the Lunar race, king of Kusasthali Dváríka (Dvárká), aided the glorious sons of Paṇḍu in the Great War, and after the sons of Kuru had been exterminated he returned with Yudhishthira and Baldeva to his capital, where he died fighting the Bhíls.

On the shores of the peninsula of Sauráshtra, at the extremity of which is Dvárká, there is a town called Devabandar, which was the abode of the Sauras or Chávaḍás, who worshipped the sun, and probably founded the temple of Somanátha, as well as other temples dedicated to Balnátha or the Sun-god. They connected themselves with the Solar race of princes, who ruled in the ancient city of Vallabhíputra. When evil days befell its great king Síláditya, some there were who fled to Panchásúr, and of their line came the Chávaḍá prince Jayashekara. Happy and glorious was his reign and that of his consort Rúpa Sundari, strengthened by the devotion of the queen's brother Surpála, till the fame of his greatness drew on him the jealousy of

Rája Bhuvar, the Solanki king of Kalyāṇa. Panchāsūr fell after Jayashekhar had bravely given up his life in its defence, and the Chāvādā family would have been extinguished had not Surpāla given up his wish to die by his sovereign's side, that he might accompany his sister, then big with child, into the desert. There, in the wild woods, Rūpa Sundari gave birth to a son, whom she consequently named Vana Rájá.

Vana Rájá by his high qualities became the founder of a kingdom and a dynasty. In Samvat 802 (A.D. 746) his servant Anahila selected the spot where he built his capital, Anahilavādā or Anahilapúra (Paṭan), and his minister Jámha or Chámpa erected the town of Chámpāner.

The house of Vana Rájá ruled over Gujarát during 184 years, and the last of the line was the foolish Sámanta Sing, whose sister married Rájá, the son of a descendant of Bhúvar the Solanki king of Kalyāṇa. The princess died in giving birth to Múla Rájá, whom his uncle adopted.¹

But when he grew up the ungrateful Múla Rájá deposed and slew the king, and murdered the whole of his mother's race. Still his reign was prosperous, and he became the founder of the greatest family that ever ruled in the country. He avoided or beat off the combined attacks of the Rájás of Ajmir and

of Telingana, and when peace was restored he built the imposing Rûdra Málá at S'risthala (Sidhpúra), in return for which S'iva gave him the kingdom of Sorath, and to this conquest he afterwards added that of Lâth, south of the Narmadá. In his old age Mûla Rájá repented of his early sins, and retired to S'risthala, after bestowing its lands and villages near Cambay on the Bráhmans, and Sihor on the Audich Bráhmans.

In A.D. 997 his son Chámuṇḍa succeeded him, and all would have gone fairly and prosperously for him too had not the dread Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazni one day fallen suddenly on Nehrválá, as the Musalmáns termed Anahilavádá, and taken it. The invader did not then stay his progress, for his object was to spoil the rich and ancient temple of Somanátha; but the capture of this holy place was delayed by the desperate assault made on his camp by the heir-apparent of Gujarát, Vallabha, and his nephew Bhíma Deva. For a time it seemed as if the Sultán's army would have been crushed, but at length fortune declared for him and Somanátha became his prey. He was, however, forced to dislodge Bhíma Deva from his stronghold of Gandaba, to return to Anahilavádá, and stay there for a length of time till he had made Vallabha his prisoner, and placed on the throne a more compliant brother, Durlabha. And finally, when he wished to return to Ghazni with his booty, Bhíma Deva, aided by the Rájá of Ajmir, compelled him to change his route and cross the deserts of Sind, where famine and fatigue decimated his army.

After this invasion Gujarát enjoyed a long period of tranquil prosperity, and the magnificence of Anahilavádá increased; though Bhíma Deva, for refusing to join a confederacy against the Musalmáns, suffered punishment at the hands of Visal, the Chohán king of Ajmir, who, in token of his superiority, founded in Gujarát the town of Visalnagar.² For he conquered a portion of the dominions of Bhoja, king of Dhár, and his successor Kúran subdued the *mewás* lands of Gujarát held by the Bhíls and Mhairs or Kolis, after a conquest over one of whose chiefs he founded a city where Ahmadábád now stands. Kúran Sing also built the great reservoir called the Kúran Ságar (Kúndságar), which lasted till the time of Anand Ráv Maharájá, and a beautiful temple near Modherpur (Modhera), whence the Modh Bráhmans come.

As a reward for this last act of piety the gods granted that his wife, the munificent Mainal Deví, should bear him a son destined to be the most famous of all the old Hindu kings of Gujarát—Siddh Rája, the builder of the Sahasra Ling Tank at Anahilavádá, the restorer of S'risthála (hence called Sidhpur), the conqueror of Málwá, of Wadhwan and Gírnár—nay, of all Soráth. During his reign the kingdom reached its acme of glory and prosperity. Achalgadh and Chandrávati to the north, Modhera and Janjawára to the west, Chámpáner and Dabhai to the east, were the pillars of the king's throne. Then Anahilavádá was the richest town in the whole of India, and marvellous stories are told

of its markets and mints, its palace, its schools, and its gardens, where, amidst sweet-scented trees, the learned studied and taught philosophy and religion. The kingdom included not only Sorath and Málwá, but Kachh, and lands beyond, which perhaps touched the Indus, the Dakhan to the confines of the Kolhápur State, and, in the north, territories which may have extended to the Ganges itself, and the Himálayas.

Sidh Rájá the Magnificent left no son to succeed him. When he died, in A.D. 1143, a distant relative, a Chohán, Kumára Pála, was adopted, and he and his heirs ascended the throne in succession, till at last Bhíma Deva the Mad closed the line. Like his predecessor, Kumára Pála upheld the Buddhist religion, but unlike him he suffered defeat from the Rájá of Ajmir. In fact the two kingdoms maintained a foolish bitter war till their common enemy ended their divided counsels. Bhíma Deva in A.D. 1178 repelled with great success an invasion made by Muhammad Ghori, but he fell a victim to the revenge of that monarch's general Kutb-ud-dín, who in A.D. 1194 drove him from his capital after having conquered his old rival. Bhíma Deva did not fall without a struggle, and

A.D. 1228.

Anahilavádá had to be retaken a second time by the Musalmáns, who then garrisoned the town. But as years passed on we find that the tide of invasion receded, and once again, though shorn of its glory, Anahilavádá was the capital of a Hindu kingdom, ruled by the Wághelás.

Visal Deva, the first of the Wághelá line, was an obscure descendant of

The Wághelá line.

Sidh Rája, and the last was Ghelu Kúran, on whom came the stroke of fate through the armies of Ala-ud-dín Khilji, surnamed the Bloody. The year after he had murdered his fond uncle Jalál-ud-dín, he sent his general Álaf Khán into Gujarát. Kúran's

A.D. 1297.

resistance was brave but ineffectual; the Musalmáns this time occupied the country and held it, till after many years the Hindu cause was avenged by the Maráthás. For the time the royal line of Rájput kings was destroyed or driven into dark corners; the wife and daughter of Kúran became the wives of the Dehli emperor and his son; the fair cities were ruined; the ancient temples were pulled down, that of their stones mosques might be built; and a new order of things took place.

Note ¹, p. 2.—According to Briggs. In Samvat 987 (A.D. 931) Bhoja Rájá, the last of the Cháavadás, was set aside for Múla Rájá, the son of Jai Sing Solanki.

Note ², p. 4.—Perhaps it was founded by Visal Deva, a Wághelá prince, or restored by Visal Deva Maṇḍaleśvara of Chandrávati. The Bráhmans of Vaḍanagar originally inhabited Visalnagar, but when summoned to do so by Visal Deva they refused to accept *dakṣhiṇá* from him, and, creating a new sect, withdrew to the town from which they now take their name.

A.D. 1297—1317.]

CHAPTER II.

MUSALMÁN PERIOD.

EARLY GOVERNORS—KINGS OF AHMADÁBÁD.

THIS portion of the history of Gujarát divides itself into three periods. (1) For little more than a century Gujarát formed a province of the Dehli empire, which during that time, under the houses of Khilji and Tughlak, reached a point of high prosperity, and then collapsed. (2) The last two or three viceroys showed great signs of impatience of any control from the central authority, and at the commencement of the 15th century an able ruler asserted his independence and founded the house of the Ahmadábád kings. Under several eminent rulers this kingdom increased in power and riches till it became the most important state outside of the empire.

(3) An untimely contest with the second of the Moghul emperors, however, brought ruin on the kingdom, which was easily annexed by Akbar in the latter half of the 16th century. The rule of the Moghul viceroys was on the whole prosperous till the overgrown empire broke up in the latter years of the reign of Aurangzeb, at the commencement of the 18th century; and soon after the death of this monarch those Maráthás began to invade Gujarát to whose party the Gaikvád belonged.

(1) Álaf Khán, the invader of Gujarát, continued for twenty years (1297-1317) to be the governor of the province which comprised the large towns of Anahilavádá, Surat, Broach, and Cambay, when he was recalled by Ala-ud-dín and murdered. He was succeeded by men who had not his vigour and ability, and for several years the country was a scene of rebellions, of combinations among the powerful nobles against the emperor or his viceroy, of distrust at Dehli and disloyalty at Paṭan. During this period some of the neighbouring Hindu princes regained a portion of their independence, and others, driven towards Gujarát from outside by the conquerors, settled there: such were the Ráthods of Ídar; the Gohils from the north, who occupied Perim; the Parmárs, and the Káṭhis from Sindh. At the same time the hill tribes, whom the Anahilavádá kings had never quite subdued, the Bhíls and the Kolis, kept up a constant revolt. Still during this period of history some parts of the country were well cultivated, and both trade and manufactures began to flourish.

(1347.) On one occasion some confederate Amírs defeated Aziz, the governor of Málwá, who had been sent by Muhammad Tughlak to quell their disturbances, whereupon the emperor himself marched into Gujarát and sacked the towns of Surat and Cambay, at the same time driving the Gohils out of Gogo. But when he left for Daulatábád, the nobles rose again, under the leadership of one Malik Toghán, and the emperor was forced to return and meet the

rebels in battle near Kaḍi. He gained a complete victory, but afterwards, while pursuing his conquests in and beyond Káthiávád, he died there of fever in 1351.

The next governor who rose to prominence was named Farhat-ul-Múlk, who ruled almost independently till 1391, owing to the distracted state of the empire, and the power he himself had acquired by conciliating the Hindus, of whom his army was chiefly composed. Finally, however, a very able man named Zafir Khán, who was himself a converted Rájput,¹ was sent to displace him. Zafir Khán not only defeated his opponent, but exacted tribute from some of the principal Hindu rájás—Junágad, Delvádá, and Jhálávád—and spoiled the temple of Somanátha. His attempts against Ídar were, however, frustrated by circumstances, and the narrow tract in the plain over which he ruled was bounded and inconvenienced not only by Ídar on the east, and the Bhíls and the Kolis all along the mountains southward, but by the Rájás of Jhálor and Sirohi on the north-west, and in the peninsula of Sorath by at least nine or ten Hindu tribes.

(2) In 1403 Zafir Khán's son took the title of king, and reigned as an independent sovereign over Gujarrát, and a few years after his death Zafir Khán himself, as Múzafar, ruled the country from Ahmadábád, then called Asáwal, though he lived much at Paṭan, and was finally buried there, as was his son. It was his successor the vigorous Ahmad Sháh who gave the capital his name, after he had defeated

his relations but rivals the governors of Baroda and Surat. As Álaf Khán had spread his religion through Gujarát proper from Paṭan to Broach, so Ahmad Sháh extended it to Káthiávád, after rendering the Ráv of Junágaḍ and the Sorath chiefs tributary. He also increased the influence of Ahmadábád over the Hindu kings of Chámpáner, Nandod, Ídar, and Jhálávád. Again and again he harried the country round Chámpáner, and to settle Ídar he built the fort of Ahmadnagar, and subjected the Ráv to a heavy tribute. Besides these he defeated their ally the Musalmán king of Málwá, and repulsed the Báhmaṇi king of the Dakhaṇ at Mahim, in the Northern Konkaṇa, which belonged to him, and in Báglána, of which he held some portion. This rapid increase of the kingdom was the result of two measures, by one of which he assigned lands in *jáhágir* for the support of regular troops, and by the other conciliated the Hindu land-owners by granting them the *wāntá*, or fourth-share in their villages.

Eight years after his death—that is, in 1459—began the reign of the most famous of the kings of this house, Mahmúd Begada ('the two forts'), who in 1472 captured Girnár and Junágaḍ, annexing Sorath, who afterwards destroyed the temple of Jagat (Dvarká), and who in 1484 took the fort of Chámpáner—a mighty conqueror of Hindu rájás and upholder of the Musalmán religion.

Mahmúd Begada died in 1513, and his son² continued the ancestral contest with Málwá, Ídar, and

Chitor, but no marked change took place till the accession of the next ambitious king Bahádur (1526-1536), who to increase his conquests ruined his finances in supporting an enormous army, and vexed his people by introducing the system of letting out the revenues of the districts to contractors. King Bahádur extended the boundaries of his domain to the furthest limits it ever reached. Besides the nine districts of Gujarát proper, which included Ahmadábád, Patan, Baroda, Broach, Rájiplá (Nandod), Surat, and Chámpáner, there belonged to him Jodhpúr, Jhalod, Nagor, and Sirohi in Rajpútána; Dongarpúr and Bansvádá in Málwá; a portion of Khándesh and Báglána; Janjira, Bombay, Bassein, and Damán in the Konkana; in the western peninsula Somanátha, Sorath, Navánagar; and finally beyond these Kachh.

The rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bijápúr, Berár, Govalkonda, and Burhánpúr at times were his tributaries—surely it was the most powerful kingdom in the south of India. Then was the glory seen of Ahmadábád and its neighbour Mahmudábád, of Chámpáner, but above and beyond all, of the harbours of Surat and Cambay; for the Musalmans obtained from commerce such riches and prosperity as the ignorant Maráthás could only destroy, but not bring to life again.

After capturing Mándu, the capital of Málwá, and taking by storm Chitor, king Bahádur drew destruction on his head by daring to cross swords with the hardy men of the north, the soldiers of the

Moghul Humáyún. Gujarát was overrun by the imperial armies in 1535; but the following year Bahádur recovered his kingdom, to enjoy it for one brief year only; for he died in 1536 at Diú, fighting the Portuguese, then the masters of the seas which wash the Gujarát coast. His death revealed the unhealthy condition of the kingdom; the succeeding kings retained only a nominal power, while the country was divided between the parties of a few great nobles, who were constantly plotting against each other. Finally one of their number was driven to adopt the only course left open—he called in the great emperor of Dehli, Akbar, who annexed and settled the distracted province in the year 1573, though for some time peace was not firmly established within the boundaries of Gujarát.

Note ¹, p. 9.—Briggs.—Zafr was the son of Sehván, a Ták Rájpút, and an apostate. He was assassinated by his grandson Ahmad.

Note ², p. 10.—This king often resided at Bareda, the name of which town he changed to Daulatábád. Briggs gives as its more ancient names—Chandanavati, when Chandan, of the Dor tribe of Rájpúts, wrested it from the Jainas; then, some centuries later, Varavati; then Bárputra, 'the city of sandalwood, of warriors, of the leaf of the *Bhar* tree.'

CHAPTER III.

THE MOGHUL VICEROYS.

(3) After his usual fashion, Akbar aimed less at innovating, than at retaining what was best worth preserving. The country still continued to be divided into two parts—that directly administered by the viceroy, who took the place of the Ahmadábád king, and that part which was merely tributary.

The tributes of the subject states were fixed according to the terms made at the time of conquest, and bore no relation to the means of the state. They were not regularly levied, but were in general extracted either by main force, or at least by military display, under the system called *mulukgiri*, subsequently adopted and amplified by the Maráthás. As under the old Hindu kings of Anahilavádá, in the feudatory states the revenue consisted of, 1st, a share in the crops, levied either directly on the cultivator by agents, or collected through the superior landholders; and, 2ndly, of certain cesses on trade and of transit duties.

In the Sarkár districts, as at the best time of the Ahmadábád kings, Akbar to each governor associated an accountant, who kept a check on the

internal management, and who corresponded with a head accountant at Ahmadábád, answering to the diván, an officer second only to the viceroy.

King Bahádur introduced the custom of letting out the collection of revenue to contractors, and the military lords followed his example in their estates. It was this innovation which, although for a time it greatly increased the revenues, brought about the disorganization of the kingdom; and it is needless to say that Akbar swept away this evil, which was destined to see life again under the wretched Maráthá administration.

Under the Ahmadábád kings certain lands assigned in jáhágir came by degrees wholly to be made over to powerful military lords, who under strong administrations were kept under some supervision. But in the time of the ambitious Bahádur the army was increased to an immense extent, and the military chiefs became virtually independent. Under the Moghul emperors these jáhágirdárs were again gradually brought under check, till, after Aurangzeb's death and during the Maráthá invasion, they once more became independent, as we shall see further on, in the cases of the Bábi family and the Nawábs of Surat and Cambay.

Besides the Sarkár lands and those held by the great jáhágirdárs, which composed the larger portion, there were the estates of the zamindárs, as were then termed the semi-independent Hindu landholders, the Rájás, Rávs, and Rávás. Akbar not only sought to conciliate these by personal intercourse

and by courteous treatment, but he did not in the least disturb them. The lesser Hindu land-owners he allowed to retain their *wāntá*, as Ahmad Sháh had directed to be done, though the custom had been changed in later times. Besides all these, when the Musalmán power was on the wane, and the Maráthás were gradually annexing territory, the more turbulent of the small land-owners, called *girásiás*, by threats of oppression and plunder, levied on their more peaceable neighbours a species of black-mail, which had no existence during the continuance of a regular administration in the country.

The province of Gujarát under the Moghul empire did not embrace so large a territory as that over which the most powerful of the Ahmadábád kings ruled, but its importance may be estimated by the high rank of many of its viceroys.

The second of the officers appointed by Akbar was a son of the great minister Behráh Khán, who, it is interesting to notice, died by the blow of an assassin at Patan while travelling to Mecca on a pilgrimage. During this young man's administration a portion of Central Gujarát received the blessing of a revenue settlement, made by the famous Rája Todar Mal, which lasted till the Maráthás swept away every trace, good and bad, of Musalmán rule; and where no measurement took place a fixed payment for the year was instituted, in money or in kind, after the test called *páháni* had been applied.

The struggle to regain Gujarát made by the last of the Ahmadábád kings and his son lasted till the

beginning of the 17th century, and they were aided by the Hindu prince of Rájpiplá and by several of the Káthiávád chiefs. And shortly after 1609 Baroda, which had then been the scene of a struggle between the exiled king and the Moghul viceroy, was, together with Surat, invaded by Malik Ambar, a noble of the Nizám Sháh's court and governor of Daulatábád; but even this passing event yields in interest to the fact that a few years later the rival traders of England and Holland were allowed to establish factories at Surat, till then open only to the Portuguese.

Prince Sháh Jahán was viceroy in 1616, and made an ineffectual attempt to become independent of his father, Jahángir. Unlike the latter, Sháh Jahán fancied the climate of Ahmadábád, where he built the beautiful palace called the Sháhi Bágh, which he revisited when he became emperor in 1627. His viceroy Ázam Khán during a vigorous rule did much to keep in order the Kolis of Gujarát and the Káthis, and his successor introduced the *bhágavatai* system of levying revenue into Gujarát.

But these competent officers were succeeded in 1644 by Prince Aurangzeb, who in two years by his religious intolerance threw the whole country into confusion. In 1654 Prince Murád Baksh was viceroy; and three years after, he left Gujarát to join Aurangzeb in their united struggle for empire. It is well known that when Aurangzeb had used his tool he cast the foolish Murád into prison, but before doing so he had appointed his and Murád's father-in-

law viceroy of Gujarát. This man, Sháh Naváz, to rescue Murád, struck a blow for the fugitive prince Daráh, but was defeated, and Aurangzeb gave his post to his former gallant rival the Mahárájá Jasvant Sing. During Aurangzeb's reign the years 1664, 1666, and 1670 were marked by the repeated capture and spoiling of Surat by Siváji, the signs of the coming change. Four years after the last event we hear of the rise of the family destined to be the chief rival of the Gáikváds ; a son of Sher Khán Bábi was then appointed governor of Kaḍi, while a little later Safdar Khán Bábi was made governor of Paṭan, and then of Bijápúr.

In 1705 the Maráthás regularly invaded Gujarát under Dhanáji Jádhava, and at Ratanpúr defeated first Safdar Khán Bábi, whom they took prisoner, and next the army of the viceroy. These successes were quickly followed by a victory at the Bába Piaráh ford on the Narmadá, where the officiating viceroy and the sons of Safdar Khán were put to flight or taken prisoners. It was in vain that Aurangzeb sent his own son Prince Muhammad to be viceroy ; his own death was close at hand, the empire was falling to pieces, and the Maráthás were spreading over India like a resistless wave. Thus was destined to pass away an epoch during which, under the Dehlí emperors and the Ahmadábád kings, Gujarát had reached a high degree of material prosperity, and its cities had become the talk and wonder of travellers from distant countries.

To account, therefore, for the existence of a Mará-

thá kingdom in Gujarát it is necessary not only to recall, as we have briefly donè, the long period during which Hindu rájás maintained the Jain and Bráhmañ religions, rivetted old customs which suited the climate and the temperament of the people, and generally so conducted the fortunes of their subjects along certain grooves that these could not be abandoned, however violent the wrench made to tear them away ; but also to remember that for four more centuries the Musalmáns enforced on the land a foreign supremacy which was distasteful to its inhabitants, however imposing it may have been outwardly, and however civilized and refined when compared with the dominion which was founded on its ruins.

Though, however, the Musalmán rule lasted for so long a period, it must be borne in mind that it did not commence till three centuries after Mahmúd of Ghazni invaded India, and only a short time before the central authority at Dehli, arriving at its culminating point, fell to pieces in order to make way for the advent of the Moghul house.

The consequences of these events are evident. The early viceroys frequently courted the support of the Hindu zamindárs ; the wiser kings of Ahmadábád consulted their interests ; the less sagacious of them felt themselves to be the rulers not of a portion of a wider empire, but of a kingdom whose exclusive welfare was their aim. The consequences of the rule of Akbar and his two successors, who fostered the Hindu interests of the empire, were not upset by the

retrograde policy of Aurangzeb to the degree which drove Southern India to shake off the alien yoke. And, finally, ever on the point of breaking off from the great system to which it belonged, Gujarát was entrusted to men who, anxious to push their own interests, were impelled to conciliate the subject or semi-independent portion of the community, that they might by them be assisted in their ambitious views.

The original inhabitants of Gujarát were driven by the Hindu rájás into the woods and hills, but were never exterminated or wholly conquered. The Musalmán kings and viceroys did not carry on the work much further. So when the Maráthás appeared they at once became the allies of the Bhíls and Kolís, who were always glad to side with any revolutionary force which promised to create a state of confusion suitable to their lawless habits.

The great Apahilavádá houses had died out, but adjoining the plains of Gujarát and in the distant and mountainous peninsula small Rájpút rulers had established themselves and flourished. Between them and the Musalmáns there could never be friendship, and they hailed the Maráthás as avengers of the down-trodden Hindu religion, and their coming as the possible opportunity for complete independence. The same spirit animated the lesser Hindu land-owners.

When the empire was falling to pieces about their ears the Musalmán amírs lost all sense of cohesion. Each, to defend or exalt himself, was ready at a pinch

to join the Maráthás, till the viceroy in person found no other course left open to him but to solicit their alliance.

Thus, amidst the universal breaking up of settled rule, the invaders entered Gujáráť. To the Hindus they could bring back old customs and a loved religion, but they had few other advantages to offer. The new-comers had not attained any political wisdom, nor were they influenced by the high motives which are the results of long and patient self-government. They had not learnt to administer criminal and civil justice, to construct public works for use or ornament, to foster commerce and agriculture, regularly to collect and wisely to dispense the revenues of the State. Such arts could not be expected of a nation which had by sheer physical daring and skill suddenly found itself able to resist and then devour a vast but rotten empire. To the poor and down-trodden Maráthás the moment of success seemed the opportunity to be avenged, and to become rich by plunder. First aiming at irregular, and next at regular tribute, the onward tide of victory forced them to establish themselves in the countries from which they had driven the Musalmáns. The leader of a band of predatory horse became a prince, his lieutenants nobles and land-owners. But it was not easy for them, in their ignorance, immediately to turn their fortune to a useful account. What they did do will partly be gathered from the following pages, which record a modern revolution still incomplete, and wholly different from what it might have been,

had not the great Maráthá nation itself come under the influence of a race of conquerors wiser and more powerful than they themselves were, and in every way different.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY INVASIONS OF GUJARÁT MADE BY THE SENÁPATI AND GÁIKVÁD.

In order to account for the existence of a Maráthá kingdom in Gujarát, a brief account has been given of the old Hindu kings of Anahilavádá, and of the Musalmán kings and viceroys of Ahmadábád. It is necessary also, for the full comprehension of our subject, to dwell on some of the events which occurred during the rise of the Maráthá power in India. It would otherwise be difficult to understand how the conquest of Gujarát was effected by a single officer of the Maráthá kingdom, acting almost independently of the sovereign; how, on this officer's death, his authority was, without risk, usurped by his lieutenant; how these two, the Senápati and the Gáikvád, withheld from Sháhu the tribute he claimed; and finally how the Peshvá was engaged for many long years in a struggle with the Gáikvád, which would have ended in the extinction of the latter had not the British interfered between the two.

Siváji, the favoured of Bhavání, the supporter of the Gôd Bráhmans, had, during the thirty years which preceded his death in 1680, endeavoured to form a compact kingdom, a disciplined army, and a regular civil administration; and during this time he himself

was animated by, and endeavoured to infuse into his people, a spirit of religious hatred against the Musalmáns. His schemes were almost entirely unsuccessful, but he taught the Maráthás how to avoid the ponderous blows of the Moghul armies, how to take advantage of their jealousies and untimely rivalries, how to plunder the plains and rich towns after seizing the hill-forts.

Aurangzeb, who before Siváji's death had for twenty years exhausted every method to crush the 'mountain-rat,' had meanwhile followed a policy which hastened the dissolution of the empire. He attempted to suppress the Hindu element when it had already grown to be a vast but unfelt power. On his own subjects he imposed the *jizya*, and the great Rájput houses he for ever alienated by his treacherous conduct—the house of Jasvant Sing, the Rájá of the Jodhpúr Ráthods, that of Rájá Sing, Ráná of Údepúr, and others. After thus cutting away these supports to his throne, he, seven years after Siváji's death, widened the boundaries of the Moghul empire, but effectually weakened the strength of the Musalmáns in India by annexing Bijápúr and Govalkonda. Consequently, though Sambáji did not inherit his father's genius, though the armies of Siváji lost all discipline, though the Moghuls reconquered a great number of the Maráthá hill-forts, though Sambáji himself was taken prisoner and put to death, the Regent, Rájá Ráma, after losing in 1690 Raigad and the guardianship of the late king Sambáji's son Siváji (Sháhu), who was brought

up under Aurangzeb's eye, was able once again to create a centre of authority, far less despotic, it is true, than Siváji's, at Ginji. Over the capture of this place Aurangzeb wasted seven years, while the rapid movements of Santáji Ghorapade, Dhanáji Jádhava, and Rámchandra Pant disconcerted the unwieldy armies of the Moghuls, and a great number of Maráthá leaders were beginning to learn the predatory system, of which the end was one, though the efforts made to accomplish it were distinct. Just before Ginji was taken Rájá Ráma moved to Sátará, and soon found himself at the head of larger armies than Siváji himself had commanded. His predatory excursions took a wide range, till in 1700 the emperor struck a blow which deprived him of Sátará and hastened his death. Other important hill-forts fell during the subsequent four years, when the virtual ruler of the people was still in Aurangzeb's hands, but still the numerous Maráthá excursions grew more and more formidable. In 1702 Surat was taxed by a marauding party. In 1705 fifteen thousand Maráthás invaded and devastated Gujarát. Next, Sátará, Rájgaḍ, Panhalá, and for a time Son-gaḍ, again fell into the Maráthá's power; and Aurangzeb, distracted by wide-spreading predatory forces he had not the power to restrain, died a miserable death at Ahmadnagar in 1707.

Sháhu was then released, and with difficulty obtained the allegiance which by right of birth was his. Rájá Ráma's family set up an independent kingdom at Kolhápúr, supported by many of the most power-

ful Maráthá chiefs. Rivalries of all sorts confirmed the custom of separate action, and Sháhu would have lost even the semblance of paramount authority had he not been supported first by the good understanding which existed between him and Dáud Khán, who was governor of the Dakhan till the Nizám was appointed to that post, and then, by the counsel of Báláji Vishvanáth, who in 1714 was elevated to the post of Peshvá or Mukhya Pradhán, and invested with the charge of Purandhar. Soon after that year Báláji instituted a new revenue policy, which was designed to consolidate the State, and to render the assistance of the Bráhmans indispensable to Sháhu, who, though not devoid of ability, was brought up in the indolent ways of a Muhammadan noble. Besides the sovereign's claims on the subhas of the Dakhan,—that is, the *chauth* and *sardesh-mukhi*,—he was held by the Peshvá to possess in all other conquered districts the *svaráj*, of which one-fourth, termed the rájá's *bábtí*, came to him, while the balance, called *mokassa*, fell to the military chiefs as *jágír*. In addition to the *jágír*, the most powerful leaders, of course, had lands and villages bestowed upon them in *inám*.

• Khande Ráv Dábháde, a Maráthá leader who subsequently rose to eminence, was in the habit of levying contributions in northern Gujarát and Káthiáwád early in the 18th century. When Dáud Khán, Sháhu's friend, was appointed governor of Gujarát, he withdrew from Ahmadábád, and established himself between Nandod and Rájpiplá. In 1712 Muhammad

Ibráhim Tabrizi, who was escorting a rich caravan of treasure from Surat to Aurangábád, was attacked by the Maráthás, and the treasure carried off. This exploit is supposed to have been the work of Khaṇḍe Ráv Dábháde, and it is certain that when the Syad

A.D. 1716.

Husen A'li Khán, after defeating Dáud, attempted to open communication between Surat and Burhánpúr, and to suppress the depredations of Khaṇḍe Ráv, who commanded the road and exacted a fourth of the effects of all travellers who did not purchase his passport, he failed. Not only was the expedition of eight thousand men defeated, but their leader, Zulfikar Beg, was killed. Subsequently joining the Sar Lashkar, Khaṇḍe Ráv fought an indecisive battle with Mavkub Sing, the Syad's Diván, and Chandra-sena Jádhava, at Ahmadnagar. He then returned to Sátará, and was made Senápati in the place of Mánáji Moré.

A.D. 1719.

Two years later, the Peshvá and Senápati went together to Dehli in order to support the Syad, who had now come to terms with the Maráthás; and after two years' stay at the capital they obtained from the newly risen emperor Muhammad Sháh many *sanads* to levy tributes. The Maráthás affirm, but not truly, that from this date they received permission to levy tribute in Gujarát. It is of little consequence whether or not such permission was given, but of more importance to note that shortly after this the Senápati, who had to support a large portion of

Sháhu's army, received authority from the Rájá of Sátará to realize the dues established by usage from Gujarát and Bágláná. At about the same time, or a little later, Báji Ráv, who had succeeded to the post of Peshvá on his father's death, which occurred in 1720 after his return from Dehli, repeatedly commissioned Udáji Powár to levy tribute in Gujarát and Málwá. These orders were as repeatedly carried into effect, and finally, as we shall see, Ánand Ráv Powár settled at Dhár. From the beginning this family was the rival of the Gáikvád, though it was destined in later days to connect itself with him by marriage, and to accept his assistance in its struggle for existence.

At, about the very time when the Senápati and Peshvá were returning from Dehli, where they had got such good terms from the emperor through the Syads, Asaf Jah, the founder of the Nizám dynasty at Háidarábád, was moving to the Dakhan from Málwá to conquer a kingdom for himself. He was joined by several Maráthá chiefs who were discontented with Sháhu, and with their aid defeated two armies of the Syads, the first at Burhánpúr, the second at Bálápúr in Berár. In this second engagement the Syads' general, A'lam A'li Khán, was supported by several of Sháhu's first officers, and among others by Khande Ráv Dábháde. The Senápati had with him on this occasion a soldier who, with others of his family, stood high in his esteem. This was Dámáji Gáikvád, who, for his distinguished merit during the engagement, obtained from Sháhu the title

of Shamsher Bahádur, and the post of second in command.

Nizám-ul-Múlk subsequently rejoined the Dehli court as vazír, and was commissioned to reduce the refractory subhedár of Gujarát, Haidar Kúli Khán. This he easily did, and, retaining the province, he appointed his uncle Ahmad Khán his deputy. But the same year he returned to the Dakhan without the emperor's permission, and with the full intention of rupturing all connection with him.

Meanwhile, shortly after the battle of Bálápúra, both the Senápati and his lieutenant died; Khanḍe Ráv Dábháde was succeeded by his son Trimbak Ráv in May 1721, and Dámáji by his nephew Piláji, the son of Zingoji Gáikváḍ, and the real founder of the family.¹

The Gáikváḍs had many years before left their village of Dhávadi, near Poona, to follow Dábháde's fortunes. Piláji was first given some forty or fifty *págá* horse and stationed at Navápúra, whence he proceeded to join the Senápati at Talegám. Owing to his energy and wisdom, he rose from the command of two or three hundred horse, after a successful raid on Surat, to be the leader of a *págá*. He was however forced to move from Navápúra, as Powár maintained that it was in his beat; so he selected "a

hill in a wilderness difficult
of access," belonging to the

A.D. 1719.
Mewássi Bhíls, and there constructed Songad, the cradle of the Gáikváḍs' house, and for many years (till 1766) the capital of their dominion.² The same

year he defeated an army sent against him by Sháikh-ul-Islám, Mutasaddi of Surat, commanded by Syad Akil and Muhammad Pánáh, the latter of whom was taken prisoner, and not released till he had paid a heavy ransom.

The Musalmán dominion over Gujarát was from this moment doomed to perish. The Kolis of the Máhi Kántá rose; the great Gujarát houses of Bábis and Jháloris and the newly arrived Momin Khán thought only of showing their independence; and the viceroy himself, Ajit Sing of Márvád, favoured the Maráthás, hoping through their means to substitute his own authority over Gujarát for that of the Musalmáns.

Note ¹, p. 28. *Vide Appendix I.*, Genealogical Table of the Gáikváds.

Note ², p. 28. That some idea may be gained of Songad and the hill country from which the early Gáikváds issued to invade the plains, a short extract from Mr. Willoughby's précis (1845) is here given:—"The ascent to Songad is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and the fort is $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in circumference. The walls are about 9 feet high and built of solid masonry. Songad is about 7 miles to the S. of the Tapti, and more than 40 to the E. of Surat. The two forts of Salheir and Salkotah, both built on the same precipitous hill 14 miles to the S. of the British fort of Múles, are ascended by paths several miles in length. Between Songad and Salheir is the fort of Sadarveil or Ruggad, situated on a high hill. In the town of Vehara or Beara, 11 miles to the SW. of Songad, is a fort $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in circumference. Gúndirájpúr is a fort situated on the N. bank of the Tapti NE. of Songad, surrounded by jungle. It is $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in circumference with a wall of masonry 15 feet high."

CHAPTER V.

STRUGGLE AMONG VARIOUS MARÁTHÁ CHIEFS TO OBTAIN THE RIGHT OF LEVYING THE CHAUTH IN GUJARÁT.

Amid the violent changes which generally attend the revolutions of empires each man fights for his own hand. He who has the clearest head or the strongest arm goes far further than he could do in quiet times, when the community of interests circumscribes individual aggrandizement. But the dull or the weak man must fall hopelessly out of the race,—the deeds of his fathers in the past, on which men have turned their backs, cannot aid him ; the present or the immediate future alone commands attention where all seems doubtful.

In the 18th century, when Asaf Jáh, Aliverdi Khán, and the Náik Haidar Ali were founding kingdoms ; when petty Musalmán amírs, like the governors of Surat and Cambay, were becoming navábs ; when the English traders were rapidly changing into conquerors : among the Maráthás also, and above all,—for their past history had been brief, and their political union feeble,—surprising turns of fortune took place. The ablest and most adventurous men among them came rapidly to the front, however humble their origin, and in cases where their sons or relatives equalled them as mili-

tary leaders they were able, almost without knowing it, to found princely houses: such men were Báláji Vishvanáth, Malhárji Holkar, Ránoji Sindia, Viśvás Ráv, Udáji Powár, Kantáji Kadam Bándé, and Piláji Gáikvád.¹

The three last had for their task the invasion of Gujarát, and they carried it out sometimes in combination, sometimes independently of each other; but each knew that the prize could fall to one of them only, and each was the rival of the other two. The prize, remark, was not the acquisition of territory,—for the bare idea of settling down as rulers of conquered lands had not then entered their heads,—but the right, to be extracted from the emperor's viceroy, of levying the chauth, or a fourth part of the revenues. This then seemed enough to officers in command of a few bodies of predatory horse. It is true that Rájá Sháhu had authorized the late Senápati to levy tribute in Gujarát, and that similar sanads had been issued to Powár, but no doubt sanads had then less than their usual value: the chief who could force the Musalmáns to allow him to levy the chauth would not lack followers to aid him in the work, or sanction, if necessary, from the Rájá of Sátará.

Piláji Gáikvád, following the instructions of the Senápati, turned his attention chiefly to the Surat *aththávis*, and strengthened himself by an alliance with an old foe of the Moghuls, the Rájá of Rájpiplá. In 1720, however, he made an excursion into northern Gujarát, and obtained a portion of the chauth of that part of the country, when he estab-

lished a *gumásthá* or agent at the *haveli* of Ahmedábád. But in 1723 he marched on Surat and defeated the newly appointed governor of that place, Momin Khán, after which his levy of tribute in the *aththávisi* became more regular than ever. Entering Gujarát by the Bávápieráh Pass, he made his way to Karnáli, where he was joined by the Desáis or Pátíls of Padra, Chhani, and Bháyali, in the Baroda parganá, and the first of the three became of great use to him by his knowledge of the country south of the Máhi.²

It has been mentioned in the last chapter that Nizám-ul-Múlk, just before breaking wholly with the emperor, had arranged affairs in Gujarát, and, retaining the government of the province, had left his uncle Ahmad Khán there as his deputy. The imperial party, to regain its influence, now appointed Sarbúland Khán Mubáriz-ul-Múlk governor of Gujarát and Málwá, and he in his turn made the valiant Shuját Khán his deputy. Ahmad Khán, under orders from the Nizám to hold his own, summoned Bándé to his aid, by promising him the chauth of Gujarát, and the two defeated and slew Shuját Khán near Ahmedábád. This happened in 1724, at a time when the latter's brother Rustam A'li Khán had just gained some advantages over Piláji in the neighbourhood of Surat, and had forced the Rájá of Rájpiplá to abandon his alliance. To avenge his brother's death, however, Rustam closed his campaign against Piláji, and induced him by promises to attack Ahmad Khán and

Bánde. They crossed the Máhi at Fazilpúra, and met the enemy on the plains of Árás, in the Petlád parganá. But Piláji had secretly come to an understanding with Ahmad Khán, and when the battle commenced he not only did not support his ally, but after obtaining the charge of the artillery he turned it against Rustam A'li Khán. A series of engagements took place, and the unfortunate Rustam being worsted was forced to flee to Hasá (Vasá) near Ahmadábád, where, in order not to fall alive into the hands of his enemy, he put an end to himself.

Then Ahmad Khán bestowed on Piláji Gáikvád

A.D. 1724.

half the chauth, which he had promised in its entirety to Kantáji Kadam. Naturally the division of the spoil led to quarrels between the two chiefs, which finally culminated in open rupture and fight at Cambay, when Piláji was worsted and forced to retire to Mátar, near Kheḍá. But Ahmad Khán was well aware that he could not maintain himself in the coming struggle with the viceroy without the aid of both the Maráthás, so he interposed and apportioned the chauth of the districts north of the Máhi to Kantáji, that of those south of that river to Piláji, viz. Baroda, Nandod, Champáner, Broach, and Surat. At the end of the campaign Kantáji retired to Khándesh, and Piláji to Songad, while the Senápati established himself at Dabhai. Sarbúland Khán, however, was determined to avenge the death of his deputy and to eject Nizám-ul-Múlk's relative, and he gained over for that purpose the aid of the Bábi family and of

Abhi-Sing, Rájá of Jodhpúr. As he was a singularly able and active man, he carried out his purpose, and for a time drove the Maráthás out of Gujarát. His son Khánáhzád Khán met Ahmad Khán and his allies Bándé and Gáikvád, first at Sojitrá, and then at Kapaḍvanj, and both times routed them. Ahmad Khán fled; and, in spite of the continued struggle of Bándé and the successes of Antáji Bháskar, Piláji, who after these defeats had made an attempt to capture Baroda from its governor Hasan-ud-dín, fled to Cambay, and thence retired to Soráth.

But the following year his fortunes were again on the mend; Sarbúland Khán could get no assistance from

A.D. 1726.

Dehli, and he again allowed Piláji the right to levy the chaúth in the districts south of the Máhi. But a new competitor in the struggle for the prize now put in his appearance: the Peshvá Báji Ráv was the rival of the Senápati, who was Piláji's immediate superior, and he therefore urged his partizan Powár to turn Piláji out. This Powár could not quite do, though he gained several successes over him; and Bándé, who was as jealous as Piláji could be of the Peshvá's interference, again joined him in his campaign, and with him attempted, but unsuccessfully, to capture Baroda.

Sarbúland Khán at length was forced to come to terms with one or other of

A.D. 1727.

the two Maráthá parties, and as the Peshvá was the stronger he agreed to grant him the Sardeshmukhi, or ten per cent, on the land

revenues and customs, with the exception of Surat and the adjoining districts, and the chauth of Gujarrát,—that is, one-fourth of the land revenues and of the customs, excepting those of Surat,—and five per cent. on the revenues of the city of Ahmadábád. The stipulation was that the Peshvá should not assist disaffected zamindárs and other disturbers of the public peace. Among the latter he numbered Piláji, the ally of the Bhíls and Kolis, who had now captured both Baroda and Dabhai, while Kantáji had seized Chámpáner.

This agreement did not come into effect till 1729,

A.D. 1729.

by which time the Peshvá had for a period crippled Nizám-ul-Múlk, after a long and successful campaign. Piláji had shown that the chauth granted to him would not induce him to protect the country, and Sarbúland Khán had felt the weight of the Peshvá's arm by the ravages committed in the Petlád parganá by his brother Chimnáji Appá; yet the measure caused great displeasure and dismay in two quarters. The Dehli court was unjustly wroth with the viceroy, who had in vain asked for support, and appointed in his stead the infamous Abhi Sing, the Ráthod Maharájá of Jodhpúr. Abhi Sing, after defeating, with the aid of the Bábis, Sarbúland Khán at Adalej, near Ahmadábád, and after winning a second battle, entered the capital and assumed the government, when he made

A.D. 1730.

Momin Khán governor of Cambay. The anger of the Maráthá chiefs, who had

looked upon Gujarát as their prey, may be imagined, and the feeling was carefully kept alive by the Peshvá's enemy Nizám-ul-Múlk, who fostered a confederacy against the Bráhmaṇ party composed of Chimnaji Pant, Powár, Kantáji Kadam, Piláji Gáik-vád, and the Senápati Trimbak Ráv Dábháde.

In A.D. 1731 Báji Ráv at first resolved to seize Baroda, but after invading Gujarát as the ally of Abhi Sing, who practically granted him the very terms allowed by Sarbúland Khán, he was prevented from carrying out his plan by the news that Nizám-ul-Múlk was advancing against him. On his march from Baroda he met with something like a repulse from Piláji's troops, but this did not dissuade him from marching against the forces of Trimbak Ráv Dábháde, whose camp was at Bilapúra, between Baroda and Dabhai, and who had been joined by Kantáji and Piláji. The Peshvá's troops were less numerous than their opponents, but more efficient, and after a severe struggle, in which Trimbak Ráv behaved with great courage, Báji Ráv obtained a complete victory. Trimbak Ráv himself and Piláji's eldest son, Sayáji, were slain; Piláji too was grievously wounded, and with difficulty managed to escape to Songad with his two remaining sons, Dámáji and Khande Ráv. Jánoji Dábháde and Máloji Powár were among the slain, Udáji Powár and Chimnaji Pant were taken prisoners, Ánand Ráv Powár was wounded.

Fortunately for the confederates, Báji Ráv was too anxious to meet Nizám-ul-Múlk on equal terms

to be harsh towards them. He bestowed the dead Trimbak Ráv's post on his youthful son Yeshvant Ráv, and allowed him to collect the chauth of Gujarát on the condition that in future half the revenues were to go to Rájá Sháhu *through the Peshvá*, and that additional conquests of tributary states were likewise to be accounted for. As Yeshvant Ráv was a mere child, Piláji was to carry on the work as Mutálik, with the additional title of Sená Khás Khel, 'commander of the special band,' or 'leader of the sovereign's band.'³ So ended the first of the three struggles between the Peshvá and the Gáikvád.

Note ¹, p. 31.—The standard of the Gáikvád is of red and white stripes. These were the colours of the Bándé house, and were adopted by the Gáikvád as a token of respect, for at first he served Bándé. Holkar for the same reason carries these colours.

Note ², p. 32.—Popular stories tell of the insult offered by Imám Mehdi, the Musalmán minister of Baroda, to the daughter of Dálá, Desái of Padra, who was also the wife of Wághji, Páñl of Virsad. These two obtained the assistance of the influential Sureśvara, Desái of Baroda. Dáji, Páñl of Wasai, had also to revenge the dishonour done to his daughter by Shuját Khán. These four men, therefore, pretending to go on a pilgrimage to Devaki Unai, near Songad, secretly met Piláji at that spot, and advised him how to annoy and plunder the Musalmáns.

Note ³, p. 37.—This title belonged to the Senápati originally, and perhaps carried with it some authority. It eventually came to be the distinctive title of the reigning Gáikvád, and its bestowal by the Peshvá on each successive prince had to be purchased by a nazaráná. *Vide Appendix V.*

CHAPTER VI.

DÁMÁJI GÁIKVÁD GETS THE BETTER OF THE MOGHULS,
BUT IS SUBDUED BY THE PESHVÁ.

Fortunately, the last chapter concluded, Báji Ráv Peshvá was not inclined to be hard on Piláji Gáikvád and the young Senápati, for their party was now to pass through a crisis which would have brought their history to an early close, if the Gáikváds had not been led by resolute men who, when hard hit, gathered fresh energy to face and conquer their foes.

Piláji Gáikvád had now the resources of the Senápati at his disposal, and was the master of Songad, Baroda, and Dabhai, the ally of the Bháls and Kolis, and the friend of the zamindárs, so that in spite of all that the Mahárájá Abhi Sing could do he gained over him considerable advantages, and so distressed him that the Mahárájá determined to get rid of his opponent by treachery as he could not do so by force. He caused Piláji to be assassinated by a Márváḍi in

A.D. 1732.

his tent at Dákúr,¹ and, taking advantage of the moment, hurried out his troops, who, under Dhokal Sing, took the fort and city of Baroda, which were then made over to Sher Khán Bábi.

But the foul deed brought Abhi Sing no further advantage. Dabhai successfully sustained a siege;

Piláji's old friend, the pátl of Padra, raised the Bhils and Kolis all over the country; Dámáji, Piláji's eldest son and worthy successor, after burning his father's body at Sávali, at first retired to Songad, and then, strongly supported by Umá Báí, the late Senápati's widow, who personally took part in the campaign,

made, in conjunction with
Kantáji Kadam, ² an attack

on Ahmadábád which was not wholly without result. Next, Máloji or Mahádáji Gáikvád, Dámáji's uncle, acted against the Moghul forces which had crossed the Máhi from Jambúsar, and in 1734 retook Baroda

from Sher Khán Bábi, who,
when the siege began, was

absent at Bálásinor, and was defeated when he marched to the assistance of the town. It has ever since been in the possession of the Gáikvád. Dámáji himself, after taking many important places in the east of Gujarát, pushed on to the neighbourhood of Jodhpúr, and placed Abhi Sing's ancestral domains in such jeopardy, that the Mahárájá was forced to leave Gujarát, after appointing a clever, shifty man, Ratan Sing, his *bhāṇḍári*.

But the Moghul power was not the only one with which during these busy years Dámáji had to contend, for Powár, Bānde, and Holkar knew that now or never was their opportunity to obtain a share of Gujarát. They made their venture and failed.

While Dámáji was driving out the Márvádís, his agent Rangoji had to meet Bānde in the field at Anand-Mogri, and there he defeated him with severe

loss. He then obtained from Momin Khán the chaauth of the revenues north of the Máhi, was joined soon after by Dámáji, and with him entered Viramgám, after expelling the *kasbátís* of that town. But when his chief left him, to prosecute his plans of conquest in Káthiávád, Rangoji's further advance was arrested by a defeat inflicted on him near Viramgám by Ratan Sing Bháñḍári, who would perhaps have done more if Momin Khán had not failed to support him, for reasons which are soon to be given.

Meanwhile Kantáji Kadam Bándé, who had now thrown himself on the Peshvá's side in the hope of punishing Dámáji, invaded northern Gujarát with Malhár Ráv Holkar. But beyond plundering Vaḍa-nagar and Pálanpúr these chiefs effected nothing, perhaps because they feared to meet the army of Pratáp Ráv Gáikvád, Dámáji's brother, and of Deváji Tákpír, which was then in the neighbourhood of Dholka, and afterwards assisted Dámáji in settling the tribute of the Sorath chiefs of Káthiávád and Gohilvád. Powár, too, made an attempt to seize something out of the spoil of Gujarát, but he was defeated in battle and lost his life.

In 1737 Abhi Sing, who had left Gujarát for Jodhpúr, was removed, and the Dehli court bestowed his post on Momin Khán, the governor of Cambay. But, finding that he could not expel the Márvádís without Dámáji's aid, and anxious at any price to become an independent ruler, Momin Khán purchased the alliance of the Maráthás by the cession of one-half the produce of Gujarát excepting Ahmadábád

some lands in its neighbourhood, and the port of Cambay; and to these grants he subsequently added half the city of Ahmadábád and the entire district of Viramgám. The strange alliance thus made was faithfully kept, on the whole, till the day of Momin Khán's death, which took place in 1743; though among many ups and downs there naturally arose suspicions, and even clashings, between the Maráthás and Musalmáns.

The first measure of the allies was to besiege Ah-
 madábád, and eject from it
 A.D. 1738. Ratan Sing Bhándári, Abhi

Sing's deputy, when Rangoji was placed in charge of half the city and of several of its gates. Dámáji after this exerted himself to increase his hold on Sorath, and to suppress the Kolis round Viramgám; he also took Bánsa, and though he failed to capture Broach, which still belonged to the Nizám, he succeeded in getting a portion of its revenues.

On the whole, however, Dámáji at this time paid little attention to his acquisitions in Gujarát, the maintenance and increase of which he left to the active Rangoji. From his mountain fastness at Sonagad he was watching the course of events in the Dakhan, anxiously awaiting the time when he might once more measure swords with the Peshvá and the Bráhmaṇ party. He was now no despicable opponent, but the master of a large territory, and the real chief of his party; for Yeshvant Ráv Dábháde, though nominally the Senápati, was half-witted, and showed himself possessed of none of those qualities which

are requisite for a leader in dangerous times. He had an ally, too, in Rághoji Bhonsla, who was then the greatest rival the Peshvá had ; but Báji Ráv's power had of late increased to an incredible degree. At the head of his, Sindia's, and Holkar's armies he had reached the gates of Dehli ; his old enemy the Nizám had been totally defeated and forced to come to terms ; Nádir Sháh's invasion alone had checked for a time his victorious career. When, however, he was at the height of his success, he suddenly died, in April 1740 ; and Dámáji hoped that the moment he had longed for was come.

A.D. 1740.

He sided with Rághoji Bhonsla in pressing the claims of a connection but an enemy of the late Báji Ráv to the post of Peshvá. This was Bápúji Náik of Bárúmati, a rich banker, and a disappointed creditor of the Peshvá's. In spite of all opposition, Báláji, Báji Ráv's son, succeeded to the vacant post, and Dámáji consoled himself by making a most successful raid into Málwá.

A.D. 1742.

This step, which Rághoji Bhonsla induced him to take, led, however, eventually to a reconciliation between Báláji Peshvá and Ánand Ráv Powár, the latter of whom was authorized by the former to permanently establish himself in Dhár, and act there as a sentinel on the Gáikvád's movements in Málwá.

The next year Rághoji Bhonsla and Dámáji entered the Dakhan at the same time from opposite directions

A.D. 1743-4.

while the Peshv áwas in Bengal, but his rapid return and the defeat of Rághoji's troops speedily put an end to the schemes of the two allies, and shortly after the Peshvá bought over the more formidable of his opponents by allowing him to collect the revenues of Lower Bengal. Dámáji remained some time longer in the Dakhan, without, however, effecting anything, and his presence was much required at home.

Bápúji Náik, who had also come to terms with Báláji, had invaded Gujarát and attacked and burnt Songad, but had been forced to retire on the approach of Rangoji; Momin Khán, too, had died, and Fidá-ud-dín, appointed acting viceroy, had summoned Muftakhir Khán and Sher Khán Bábi to his assistance, had attacked and defeated Rangoji, and had forced him to surrender Borsad and Viramgám.

Just previous to Dámáji's return matters took a more favourable turn. Fidá-ud-dín fled the country, Rangoji captured Petlád, and Khande Ráv Gáikvád established his brother's rights in the city of Ahmadábád. In 1744 Jawán Mard Khán Bábi, who after Momin Khán's death had become the most considerable noble in Gujarát, and had refused to acknowledge Muftakhir Khán as viceroy, ventured to oppose the Maráthás. He called to his assistance Abdul Aziz Khán, chief of Juner, who thereupon

A.D. 1744.

invaded Gujarát with Fateh Yáb Khán, commander of the fort of Malhár, and Rastam Ráv Maráthá. But Deváji Tákipir fell upon them at Ankleśvara and put their army to rout, killing Abdul Aziz. Fakhr-

ud-daulá was next appointed viceroy, but was defeated and made prisoner by Jawán Mard Khán Bábi, who came to terms with Rangoji. What followed is uncertain : Dámáji on his return from the Dakhan disgraced Rangoji, threw over an alliance made with Fakhr-ud-daulá, continued his old alliance with Momin Khán's house, and bestowed on his brother Khanḍe Ráv Gáikvād, whose self-interested policy probably deserved punishment rather than reward, the fort of Borsad and the districts of Nadiád and Borsad, which had been ceded by Fakhr-ud-daulá. Of Rangoji it remains but to tell that in 1749 he sided once again with Fakhr-ud-daulá, retook the fort of Borsad, and was there besieged by the two brothers Gáikvād and made prisoner.

But events were about to occur in the Dakhan which would induce Dámáji to enter into his contest with

A.D. 1749.

the Peshvá. In A.D. 1749 numerous intrigues were being planned and counterplanned round the death-bed of poor Sháhu at Sátará. The Rání Sakvá Báí Sake was the bitter enemy of Báláji, and declared herself in favour of the Rájá of Kolhápur as successor, so Dámáji sided with her. In A.D. 1750

A.D. 1750.

when summoned to attend at Poona as the representative of the imbecile Senápati he refused point-blank to go, but he could not hinder the formation of the confederacy which made Báláji the head and Poona the capital of the united Maráthá states. In 1751 the

A.D. 1751.

Peshvá demanded of Yeshvant Ráv Dábháde one-half of his possessions in Gujarát, which of course Dámáji refused to surrender. The same year the latter was called upon by the Rání Tára Báí to rescue the young Rájá of Sátúrá from the Peshvá's thralldom, and the whole Maráṭhá nation from the dominion of the Bráhmaṇ party, and he quickly answered the call.

The next chapter will tell how Dámáji became the Peshvá's prisoner, how he agreed to surrender half his possessions provided he were aided in taking Ahmadábád and turning the Moghuls out of Gujarát, how he deprived the Bábis of their possessions, and how he carried on his rule prosperously till a great misfortune overtook him just before he died.

Note ¹, p. 38.—The popular account is that two Márvádis sent to Dákúr for the purpose of killing Piláji pretended to be engaged in a violent quarrel at the moment the Gáikváḍ was passing. He naturally came up to part them, when the two turned on him and killed him.

Note ², p. 39.—Kántáji still held his share in the revenues of Gujarát at this time.

CHAPTER VII.

DÁMAJI GÁIKVÁP GETS THE BETTER OF THE MOGHULS,
BUT IS SUBDUED BY THE PESHVÁ.

The Rání Tára Báí, after summoning Dámáji to
her aid, seized the person
A.D. 1751. of her grandson Rájá Ráma,

who had been proclaimed Sháhu's successor, and, taking advantage of the Peshvá's absence at Aurangábád, shut herself up in the fort of Sátará. Dámáji hastened to her relief with an army of 15,000 men, which he brought down from Songad through the Sálpi Pass. The Peshvá's officers, though they had assembled 20,000 men, fell back before him on Nímb, where Dámáji caught them up and defeated them. He afterwards joined the Rápi, and the Pratínidhi was won over to their cause. The Peshvá Báláji, when he heard the news, hurried back from Aurangábád, and arrived to find that the great danger he had apprehended was passed. Náná Púrandhare had attacked and driven back the Gujarát troops to Jore Khora, where they vainly waited for the Pratínidhi's promised aid, and for reinforcements from their own province. Alarmed at the near approach of the subhedár of the Koñkana, Shankaráji Pant, Dámáji offered to treat with the Peshvá, who with fair promises enticed him into

his neighbourhood, and then contrived to effect his arrest. Dámáji was at once called upon to pay up the arrears due from Gujarát by the Senápati, and to cede a portion of his territory; and when he urged that he could not do this, as he was merely the *mutálik* of Dábháde, the Peshvá suddenly seized several members of the Dábháde and Gáikvád family then at Talegám, and plundered Dámáji's camp. The unfortunate chief and his minister, Rámachandra Baswant, were confined in Poona; his eldest son, Sayáji, was also sent to Maṅgalavádá; but Govind Ráv and Fate Sing, the younger members of the family, remained safe with Tára Báí at Sátará.

Since the death of Piláji no such misfortune had befallen the Gáikváds, but, as on that occasion, they kept up a brave heart. The minister's cousin Báláji Yamáji assembled the *páyás*, *patkás*, and *kumávislárs* at Songaḍ, and there placed Kedárji Gáikvád at their head.

The dues from Broach were collected; one-third of the revenues of Surat was extracted from Saḍdar Khán, who had become governor of the city through the assistance of the Maráthás, though, to be sure, the following year Rághobá succeeded in diverting half the proceeds to the Peshvá, and in 1759 the yearly sum of which the unfortunate town was mulcted had to be divided among the Peshvá, the Gáikvád, and the English; Shankaráji Keshava Phaḍke, subha of Bassein, who had invaded the Surat *aṭṭhávísí* and besieged Párnerá, was driven back in ignominious flight; and finally the hearty attempt made by the

Peshvá's brother Raghunáth Ráv¹ to annex Gujarát was frustrated, though he did take possession of the Revá and Mahi Kántá districts. The conduct of one Gáikvád only, Dámáji's own brother Khande Ráv gave cause for uneasiness, and threw confusion into the counsels of his party. He longed, therefore, for release from his imprisonment, which had become very strict since the escape of his minister, Rámachandra, for since that time he had been laden with irons; he recognized that there was real danger in the Peshvá's move when the latter had granted the sanads for half Gujarát to the Senápati, whose claims if recognized by the Rájá might upset his own authority; and he saw perhaps that alone he could not win Gujarát from the Moghuls. The Peshvá, too, was ready to come to terms after his

A.D. 1751-52.

brother Rághobá's partial failure, so the two chiefs made an agreement by which the whole of the future history of Gujarát was to be influenced.

Before stating its terms, it must be explained that though after the defeat of 1731 Piláji had promised to pay half the revenues of his conquests to the Rájá through the Peshvá, neither he nor Dámáji had ever done so, even if perhaps, at irregular intervals, certain sums had been paid. It should also be noted that before coming to terms Dámáji had expended in bribes to various officials over a lách of rupees. As arrears he now promised to pay fifteen láchs (the year after his release he did pay 7,90,000 rupees); he agreed to maintain 10,000 horse,

and to aid the Peshvá when called on to do so; his yearly tribute was fixed at five lákhs and twenty-five thousand rupees, besides a sum for the maintenance of the Dábháde family, which, politically speaking, was thrown over. Above all, he consented to part with one-half his dominions, and to account for all future conquests in money or in land at the same rate. In return the Peshvá bound himself to assist Dámáji in the capture of Ahmadábád, and in the expulsion from Gujarát of the Moghul government.

In Appendix IV. a list is given of the territories which fell to the Gáikváḍ by this arrangement, territories which exceeded in income the Peshvá's half, because the latter did not know the locality so well as the Gáikváḍ did. From this date the Gáikváḍ either paid his tribute or fell into arrears, in which case a close account was kept, though occasional remissions were made for good causes. The subordination of the Gáikváḍ was thus strikingly asserted. But it needed one more struggle and defeat to rivet it firmly; and after this event, which occurred just before Dámáji's death, the sanad for the appointment of each fresh Gáikváḍ was practically granted by the Peshvá, who enforced a varying *nazarána*. (See *Appendix VI.*)

Though they became subordinate and tributary, the Gáikváḍs never heartily entered into the confederacy of states of which the Poona court was the centre, nor were they ever reconciled to the Peshvá's. Dámáji and Fate Sing, as will be seen, sided with Raghunáth Ráv in opposing the legitimate Peshvá's, and the latter sided with the English when these

entered into their course of rivalry with the Peshvá. Govind Ráv was saved by the British Government from political annihilation, and the administration of his successor delivered itself over to the same government, rather than fall under the care of Sindia, Holkar, or the Peshvá. This digression is necessary in order that it may at once be understood how bitter the struggle was which has just been described, and how great were its consequences.

The partition of Gujarát took place either during, or immediately after, the

A.D. 1753, according to Grant-Duff A.D. 1755.

release of Dámáji, and in

A.D. 1753 the combined Maráthá armies, led by Dámáji, Raghunáth Ráv, Holkar, Jayáji Sindia, Powár, and others, such as Viṭhal Śivadev and Nárú Shankara, undertook the siege of Ahmadábád. The old capital of the Musalmán kings and Moghul viceroys was bravely defended by Jawán Mard Khán Bábi; and Raghunáth Ráv, whose army consisted of thirty or forty thousand horse, was forced regularly to invest it, he on the south and west sides, Gopál Hari on the east, and Dámáji on the north. In vain they endeavoured to prevent Jawán Mard Khán, who was absent at the commencement of the siege, from entering the town; in vain to cut off his army which entered it in detachments from Paṭan; in vain they actually introduced seven hundred Maráthás within the walls, for these were cut off; in vain they destroyed a portion of the fortifications by mining. But what arms could not do, want of food and money effected; and after a

tedious siege of many months Jawán Mard Khán Bábi surrendered Ahmadábád, on condition that he and his brothers should hold free of any tribute the lands they then held. Mohobat Khán at that time had Junágad in Káthiávád, Khán Daurán Khán Khedá, Sardár Muhammad Khán Bálásinor, and Jawán Mard Khán himself held in jágir the Panch Maháls, Paṭan, Visalnagar, Vaḍanagar, Vijápúr, and Sami Rádhanpúr, with other districts² north of Ahmadábád. These all were solemnly guaranteed to the Bábi family by the Maráthá chiefs, and on these terms the last link between Gujarát and the Moghuls was snapped. That portion of the country which fell to the share of Dámáji was valued at Rs. 24,72,500 revenue, besides some lands which were assigned to his family, worth Rs. 3,00,500, and half the tribute arising from Káthiávád.

When the conquest of Ahmadábád had been concluded and the settlement made, Rághobá turned away to a campaign in Hindustán, leaving Ahmadábád in the charge of an agent named Shripat Ráv, all but one gate, which Dámáji retained. The latter soon took Kapaḍvanj from Sher Khán Bábi, and was vainly endeavouring to repress the Kolis in the neighbourhood, when he was informed that Momin Khán, the naváb of Cambay, had turned the Peshvá's agent out of Ahmadábád and occupied it himself. A

second siege was found necessary, and Momin Khán's

A.D. 1755, or 1757. departure was, after all, bought rather than enforced. It must not, however, be supposed from this unex-

pected act of vigour that the Musalmáns had any longer the wish or the power to shake the Maráthá rule in Gujarát.

In A.D. 1760 Dámáji was one of the many Maráthá chiefs who took part in the disastrous battle of Páni-pat, one of the few who returned from it uninjured to his home. He played, notwithstanding, a creditable part in the final act of that bloody drama. He did

A.D. 1760.

not leave the field till after

7th January 1761.

Malhár Ráv Holkar had deserted it, and in the early part of the day his cavalry and that of Ibráhim Khán had fallen on the Rohillas, who formed the right wing of Ahmad Sháh's army, and left eight thousand of them dead on the scene of action.

Dámáji returned to Gujarát as full of vigour as ever, and for several years was engaged in ceaseless wars, which ended in the expulsion of the Bábi family—who with others had risen against the Maráthás in their time of trouble—from all their possessions except their ancestral property of Sami Rádharpúr. First he aided the Peshvá's agent in punishing Momin Khán; next he made Visalnagar his head-quarters and took Khedá; he then moved to Paṭan, out of which he turned Jawán Mard Khán, and made of this old seat of the Anáhilaváḍá kings his capital, in the place of Son-

A.D. 1763.

gaḍ. In short, between the years 1763 and 1766 he dispossessed the children of Kamál-ud-dín Bábi of Paṭan, Visalnagar, Vaḍanagar, Kherálu, Bijápúr, and all they had. Subsequently, of the nine districts thus conquered there

were granted in saranjám to the Gáikvád by the Peshvá Kherálu, Raozanpúr, Bijápúr, Dhamni, and Matújpúr, he himself retaining Patan, Vañanagar, Visalnagar, and Sidhpúr. In this way were added to the Gáikvád's territory some of the finest districts he still possesses, but these wars do not comprehend all which Dámáji waged. His conquests in Káthiá-vád will be noticed elsewhere; his victory in 1751 over the Rhátoḍ Rájá of Ídar, the relation of that vile Abhi Sing who had murdered his father, has been passed over, though it seems certain that but for the jealousy of the Peshvá the country of Ídar might have been annexed.⁵

We are forced to leave these wars to consider what Dámáji did abroad between 1761 and 1768, and to trace the growth of the alliance between Dámáji and Raghunáth Ráv, which had probably sprung up during the siege of Ahmadábád, and which subsequently resulted in the third great defeat inflicted by the Peshvá on the Gáikvád, and, worse than that, in the friendship between the Gáikváds and Raghunáth Ráv and his son Báji Ráv, which was to bear such evil fruit for the former during many long years.

Báláji Peshvá, as is well known, did not long survive the disaster at Páñipat, and was succeeded by his son Mádhav Ráv, then a youth of seventeen, but of sufficient vigour of mind to make him wish to shake off the yoke of his uncle Raghunáth Ráv, the regent. At first he was unsuccessful, but his very failure laid the foundations of a lasting ill-will between Rághobá and his brother's family.

The Nizám attempted to make use of these dissensions and the calamity which had overtaken the Maráthás, but for the time the uncle and nephew combined to oppose the invasion of the Musalmáns.

The campaign of 1763 ended in the total defeat of the Nizám at Tándulzá, on the Godávári; and Dámáji's horse, which had followed Raghunáth Ráv through the vicissitudes of the war, and had aided in looting the suburbs of Haidarábád, distinguished itself greatly on this occasion, for one of the troopers killed the Nizám's prime minister, Rájá Partárvat. It was for this service, some think, that the Rájá of Sátará bestowed on Dámáji the title of Sená Khás Khel.

When this danger was over, the gulf between the Peshvá and his uncle grew wider than ever, as the former insisted on himself conducting a great expedition into the Karnátaka, and the latter was urged to carry out all kinds of ambitious plans by the counsels of his unscrupulous wife Anandi Bái. Dámáji, according to his old policy, supported Raghunáth against the reigning Peshvá, and in the battle of Ghoḍnadi greatly contributed to a victory over the Peshvá's troops, headed by Mirajkar (Patvardhan) and Jánoji Bhoṁsla. And, as time went on, his open hostility to Mádhav Ráv brought on him the heavy anger of the most able of all the Peshvás, which was soon to result in severe punishment.

Meanwhile, on the grounds that the partition of

Gujarát had been too favourable to the Gáikvád, there were taken from him six maháls (see *Appendix V.*) worth two lákhs and fifty-four thousand rupees.

In 1768 Raghunáth Ráv, who was now at open strife with his nephew, assembled a force of 15,000 men at Dhodap, in the Chandor range, and Dámáji sent a body of cavalry to his aid, under the command of Govind Ráv, his eldest son.

The Peshvá moved his force against them, and after driving them into the fort of Dhodap compelled them to surrender at discretion, and took both Raghunáth Ráv and Govind Ráv prisoners to Poona.

This was the third and last great defeat the Gáikvád suffered at the hands of the Peshvá, and the terms exacted from him were severe. For his rebellion he was fined 23,25,000 rupees, and his arrears of tribute for three years preceding were fixed at 15,75,000 rupees. The six maháls lately taken from him were restored, but for the future this tribute was raised from 5,25,000 to 7,79,000 rupees—that is, by the rated value of the maháls. His military service was indeed reduced to three or four thousand cavalry, but in future it was to be clearly understood that the service was to be a reality, and the tribute to be regularly paid.

But a worse misfortune was now to befall the

Gáikváds. Before the a-
greement had been finally

settled Dámáji died in consequence, it is said, of an

accident which happened in the course of some chemical experiments, ⁴ and the State not only lost an eminent, able, and ambitious ruler, but fell a victim to all the evils of a disputed succession.

Note 1, p. 48.—Raghunáth Ráv is in these pages sometimes named Rághobá, by which term he is best known to the English reader, and sometimes Dádá Sáheb.

Note 2, p. 51.—Such as Maúppur, Tharád, Kherálu, Tharwara.

Note 3, p. 53.—At the time of the taking of Ahmadábád, Rái Sing, the Rájá of Ídar, seems to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Peshvá, and to have surrendered to Raghunáth Ráv Parhantej, Bijápúr, half of the Morává half of Bayer, and half of Harsol. Previous to this, Báí Sing had combined with his old foe Jawán Mard Khán Bábí in opposing the Maráthás, but in an advance upon Borsad he fell into an ambuscade and was made prisoner by Dámáji. Meanwhile his brother Anand Sing fell fighting against the Rehwár Rájputs of Ídar, and the State was reduced to a pitiable condition. After a time Rái Sing escaped from Dámáji's keeping and recovered Ídar in about A.D. 1740. But after the return of Dámáji from Pánapat that chief reduced the Rhátol princes of Ídar to the station of tributaries. A later partial conquest of the State in A.D. 1788-9 is described in Forbes's *Rás Máá*.

Note 4, p. 56.—The popular and dramatic story is that Dámáji fell a victim to the plots of his enemies. These sent to him an old man of reverend aspect who promised to show him a way of making gold. He then apparently induced the chief to shut himself up in a room where a charcoal fire was burning, the result being that he was asphyxiated.

A.D. 1768.]

CHAPTER VIII.

GOVIND RÁV AND FATE SING STRUGGLE FOR THE 'GADÍ'
—THE LATTER WINS, AND BECOMES THE ALLY OF THE
BRITISH AGAINST THE PESHVÁ.

With the death of Dámáji ended for a period the growth of the Gáikvád's power; no new provinces were added to his territory; the Peshvás, though themselves smitten by the internal disease which almost extinguished the Baroda State, were able by degrees to thrust it into an abjectly subordinate position; and though Fate Sing was a shifty, prudent prince, the opposition which he met neutralized his powers to a very great extent, while the other ruling Gáikváds fell far short of the founders of the family in resolution and mental abilities. The source of the decline we have to trace was undoubtedly this, that the Gáikvád's house was for the future to be divided against itself, and its history to be a record of family quarrels. But another evil must be taken into consideration, the conquest of Gujarát was purely the result of those military qualities in which the Maráthás excelled, but those qualities were not supplemented by others which might have led to the prosperous retention of the acquired territories. When the stream of military adventurers from the Dakhan dried up, the Maráthá soldier was replaced by mer-

cenaries of the worst possible type. The revenue of the State were for the most part devoted to the maintenance of the military class; but when that class became effete the revenues were no longer applied to the sole and not very exalted object the Maráthás had first in view. It is true that this led to the increase of the head of the State, for instead of being a commanding officer the Gáikvád became a Rájá with sovereign powers, but he was no longer supported by Maráthá warriors with the will and power to widen boundaries and increase tributes. It is also true that with Govind Ráv Gáikvád there probably came in an influx of Bráhmaṇ skill, but it is questionable if even then there was made an approach to a moderately good government, such as might foster the well-being of the masses. The collection of the taxes within the boundaries of the State, and of the tribute from the petty chiefs beyond, the expenditure of the money so collected, the administration of civil and criminal justice, the furtherance of public works of general utility—did the Gáikvád government so deal with these and cognate matters as to strengthen their rule? This is what we must consider when we pass on to the time when the English power supplanted that of the Peshvá in Gujarát and elsewhere.

Dámáji's eldest son, Sayáji, was born to him by his second wife, Kási Báí, while Govind Ráv was his offspring by his first wife, Manú Báí, so that both had pretensions to the *gadí*, which might be recognized at Poona, and Mádhav Ráv Peshvá was quite capable

of taking advantage of this circumstance to make his own terms for the nomination. Sayáji is represented to have been almost an imbecile; and he was therefore no match for Govind Ráv, though the latter had a weak, vacillating mind. But his claims were supported, from interested motives, by a younger brother, named Fate Sing, a person of a remarkably ambitious turn of mind, a quick, crafty, decided prince, who could carry out a campaign with as much ability as he could hold his own in a political contest.¹

At the moment of Dámáji's death Fate Sing, who was in Gujarát, hastened to secure Baroda, and he never loosed his hold of this town, which, by reason of the events soon to occur, became the centre of interest to the two contending parties, and then—perhaps therefore—eventually the capital of the State. Govind Ráv was still a prisoner at large in Poona, whither he had been taken after the defeat at Dhodap, and owing to his timely presence he obtained from the Peshvá his recognition to the succession after promising to pay fifty and a half lákhs of money—that is, the fine for the rebellion, the last year's tribute, twenty lákhs as nazaráná, one lakh for the Bábi maháls, and fifty thousand rupees to be distributed among the officials.

But in 1771 Fate Sing, who had strengthened himself at home, came to Poona and obtained a reversal of this decision. Sayáji Ráv was named Sená Khás Khel, and he himself Mutálik, on about the same terms granted to Govind Ráv.²

The brothers thus became bitter enemies, and, to add to the discord, another member of the family became a partizan. Piláji Gaikvád, as may be remembered, had a son called Khande Ráv, who on more than one occasion had given Dámáji trouble. This person had been made jágirdár of the district of Kañi by his father, and from the Peshvá he had received the title of Himmat Bahádur. By his intrigues he had wrested from Dámáji the districts of Nañiád and Borsad, and now he resolved to side with either of the two brothers as might best suit his interests.

In 1772 Fate Sing returned from Poona to Gujarát, but before doing so he made an agreement with the Peshvá which absolved him from the necessity of sending a contingent every year to Poona. Whenever his troops were not called out for foreign service he agreed to pay the Peshvá six lákhs and three-quarters, and after a time it became the custom of the Gaikvád not to furnish the Peshvá with any troops, but to pay (or owe) him a round sum of 14,54,000 rupees for tribute and remission of service.

Though Fate Sing pretended to be pleased with the terms allowed him by the Poona darbár, in reality he distrusted the Bráhmaṇ party, as he called it, and, foreseeing that some day the favour extended to him might be transferred to his brother, he sought the assistance of the English. His agent, Bápúji, ineffectually for the present, endeavoured to persuade Mr. Price, the chief of Surat, to get the Bombay Government to furnish him with a small army, in

return for which he promised to give up the Bráhmans' share of the Surat parganá. Though unsuccessful in this matter, we find that soon after he made a treaty, notable as the first between a Gáikvád and the British.

On the 18th November 1772 the British took by assault the fort of Broach, and dispossessed the naváb of his city. Now Fate Sing was very anxious to get Broach that he might use it as his head-quarters in his contest with his brother, and its capture had long been the ambition of the Gáikváds. Piláji had resigned some of the districts he had conquered to get two-fifths of the Broach customs.³ Dámáji had made a bold attempt to take it from the Nizám, but had been prevented from doing so by the resolute defence of Nek Álam Khán, and by a rise of the Narmadá river, which put an end to the siege. He would, however, have renewed the attempt, if he had not been bought off by a grant, (never paid for more than a year or two,) of three-fifths of the customs and revenues of Broach, and one-half those of Jambusar and Ahmod. And finally, in the partition of Gujarát, Broach and Koral had fallen to the Gáikvád's share. For these reasons Fate Sing offered the British six lákhs a year for Broach, and revenues worth 60,000 rupees per annum out of his share in Surat, but the British refused these terms, and made the treaty above referred to, (12th January 1773,) according to which the Gáikvád retained his three-fifths share, which was estimated at between six lákhs, (Mr. Elphinstone's opinion,) and nine lákhs (Captain Carnac's).

Meanwhile, during the years 1772 and 1773, the brothers Gáikvād fought for the *gadī*, both unaided by the great powers who were soon to take an active and disastrous interest in their affairs, and Fate Sing was reduced to great straits, as his uncle Khande Rāv Gáikvād, the *jágírdár* of Kaḍi, who had at first espoused his cause, deserted him to support Govind Rāv.

But great events were happening in the Dakhan. In November 1772 the wise Peshvá Mádhav Rāv died, and very shortly after, his younger brother Nárāyaṇ Rāv, who had succeeded him, was murdered, at the instigation, or with the connivance, of his uncle Raghunáth Rāv. If the latter hoped to win undisturbed possession of the post of Peshvá he was doomed to be disappointed, for in April 1774 the younger Mádhav Rāv was born, and a strong coalition of ministers supported the claims of the posthumous child of the late Nárāyaṇ Rāv. At Poona, too, civil war broke out, and, like the Gáikváds, Peshvá fought against Peshvá. Raghunáth Rāv fled before the coalition formed by the regent Gangá Báí, and headed by the two ministers Sakhárám Bápú and Náná Phaḍuávis; and on the 3rd January 1775 he reached Baroda with a small army,—for he had been deserted by the two great chiefs Sindia and Holkar,—and there he joined Govind Rāv, who, with the *Jágírdár*, was occupied in besieging his brother. Govind Rāv had not only been his ally at the battle of Dhodap, but had been recognized by him as *Sená Khás Khel* towards the end of 1773, while, still

undisputed Peshvá, he was at Kulbargá, planning his foolish campaign into the Karnátaka.

When Govind Ráv sided with the Dádá Sáheb, his brother of course sought the aid of the ministers, who were now sending some cavalry to his assistance; and Daulat Ráv Sindia, who had at first promised to aid Govind Ráv, now abandoned his cause. It was most important, therefore, that he should get possession of Baroda before a general war began, and to accomplish this purpose he had applied to the English for support. Raghunáth Ráv, too, willingly turned to the same quarter for help, as he was now a mere fugitive with a paltry army for him, and had all the great Maráthá lords banded against him. It was not, however, till the 6th of March 1775 that the Bombay Government, who wished to make the terms of the agreement quite clear, concluded the *treaty of Surat*, whereby they agreed to assist Raghunáth Ráv on condition of acquiring Bassein, Salsette, and the districts round Surat, and of obtaining, through Raghunáth Ráv's persuasion, the Gáikvád's share of Broach from Govind Ráv.

It has already been noticed that both Peshvá and Gáikvád attached great importance to the seaport towns of Surat, Broach, and Cambay, and made large sacrifices and efforts to get a share of their revenues. This they did because these revenues were large, and the towns imposing; but it is not to be supposed that their policy was dictated by a knowledge of commerce, its value, or the means to foster and increase it. Europeans, on the other hand, had a very

clear idea of the value of seaports, and the whole history of the growth of their power in India had been based on the acquisition of suitable ports on the coast. The prize dangled before the eyes of the Bombay Government by Rághobá was a real one ; but they did not sufficiently consider that this person had not perhaps the right or the power to grant it them, that they were going to take part in a civil war with which they had no concern, and that their policy was as rash as it was immoral, and as foolish as it was unjust. In no long time the step they thus took placed the Bombay Government on bad terms with Warren Hastings and the Council at Calcutta, so that the British, the Peshvás, and the Gáikváds were soon fighting and tearing each other without any clear idea of the ends they had in view. Such a war could not be other than one of the most foolish and most barren that had ever been waged.

Luckily it will not be necessary for us to study any portion of this campaign except that in which the brothers Gáikvád took an active share. The Poona army under Haripant Phadke, joined by a body of troops belonging to Sindia and Holkar, forced Raghunáth Ráv and Govind Ráv to raise the siege of Baroda. He and Fate Sing then followed the retreating army ; and

17th February 1775.

one day when Rághobá was encamped at Vasad, on the plains of Árás, at a little distance from the Máhi, they crossed that river simultaneously at three several points, fell suddenly on the flank and front of Raghunáth Ráv's camp, and

routed his army with loss. This victory was mainly owing to the good generalship and local knowledge of Fate Sing, whose prospects and reputation rose immediately. Raghunáth Ráv's army never recovered the panic of this defeat during the whole campaign; the leader himself fled to Cambay, and thence joined the English at Surat, while Govind Ráv and Khaṇḍe Ráv retreated in haste to the latter's stronghold at Kapaḍvanj, whence at last they were able to ward off the quick-following blows Fate Sing inflicted on them. So this astute chief contented himself with thoroughly reducing his uncle's districts round Naḍiád, the possession of which was of real importance to him, while towards the English he behaved himself in a judiciously friendly way, as though some day he might be on their side.

Colonel Keating with a small army joined Rághobá's still large but disorderly, unpaid, and ill-disciplined force near Cambay on the 19th April 1775, and Govind Ráv also repaired to that place with some eight hundred foot and a few horse. But Fate Sing had forced the jágirdár of Kaḍi to side with him, and the two joined Haripant Phaḍke's ministerial army, which was mainly composed of cavalry.

So late as the 3rd of May Colonel Keating was not more than thirty miles distant from Cambay, when the hostile armies met. There were several engagements on the Sábarmati, one on the Vátrak river, and again another before the allies, as Raghunáth Ráv and the English may be termed, entered Khedá.

There followed a battle at Haidarábád. But the nature of the campaign was now evident; the British infantry always behaved steadily and well, their artillery was superior to that of their opponents, and a sort of victory was generally obtained, but no results followed. The cavalry of the ministerial army when driven off retreated with great rapidity, and then kept hanging about in the neighbourhood, with a view to devastate the country and cut off the supplies of Raghunáth's huge host; and, however completely they might be thrown into disorder after a resolute charge, Raghunáth Ráv's horse never dared to pursue them, or to act independently of the British guns.

On the 8th of May the allies entered Nadiád, and the Jágirdár's capital was mulcted of 40,000 rupees, so that Khande Ráv met with the fate all turncoats deserve. On the other hand, not only did Baghunáth Ráv commit the most awful cruelties to obtain the money he wanted, but he lost a week in collecting it.⁴ As he had by this time abandoned his pet scheme of capturing Ahmadábád, and had given in to Colonel Keating's wish to march on Poona, of all places in the world, with a force which could not cope with a few horse in Gujarát, this delay was fatal. March they did, however, to the Máhi, on whose banks in the plains of Árás, on the 18th May, the British troops, surprised among the close fields and narrow hedge-bound roads common to Gujarát, almost suffered a defeat with the loss of two guns. Extricating himself from this difficulty, Colonel Kea-

ting accompanied Raghunáth Ráv to Broach, which was reached on the 25th of May. Here the Dádá Sáheb's troops mutinied for arrears of pay, Govind Ráv refused to leave Gujarát till Baroda had been placed in his hands, and Colonel Keating found it necessary to give up his plan of a march on Poona. With the little energy he had left, he attempted on the 8th June to surprise the ministerial army by crossing the Narmadá at the Bavapierah Pass, in the neighbourhood of which the enemy was encamped. But Raghunáth Ráv's troops so impeded his movements that the surprise did not take place, though Haripant was forced to move off and leave Gujarát for good and all. Then the half-drowned British troops, amidst the torrents of an early monsoon, just managed to win their way to Dabhai, while their Maráthá allies settled down at Bilápúr, half-way between that town and Baroda.

The ministerial army was nowhere; the allies were in the neighbourhood of the capital. Govind Ráv urged them to seize it after the first break in the rains; but Fate Sing, who was perfectly aware of the danger of his position, now resolved to change sides, and in policy as in war he was more than a match for his feeble elder brother. He persuaded Colonel Keating and Raghunáth Ráv to throw over Govind Ráv's interests in the most barefaced manner; and on the 8th of July he concluded a treaty with the English officer, who fancied he had great diplomatic abilities, promising to uphold Raghunáth Ráv's cause with 3,000 horse, to pay him a tribute of eight

lákhs, and to cede to the English the parganás of Broach, Chikli, Variav, and Koral, provided Govind Ráv had no claims on him. To this rejected friend Rághobá promised a jágír of ten lákhs in the Dakhan—when he could grant it him. In addition to other promises, Fate Sing pledged himself to pay Rághobá twenty-six lákhs in sixty days, a sum he very likely did not possess. Unfortunately, during the war he had played an English officer a mischievous trick,—he had induced him, under a false pretence of the danger of its falling into his (Fate Sing's) ally's hands, to tear up an engagement he himself had privately signed, and had then laughed at a proposal to sign a fresh one.⁵ Now he must have repented of his fault, for Colonel Keating, who wanted a portion of the money due to him by Rághobá for the pay of his own troops, disbelieved all his protests, and bullied him from the Mustú Bágh with threats of bombarding the town, till by the 30th of August ten lákhs had been actually extorted, though even that fraction of the promised payment was eked out by equivalents, such as jewels, elephants, and piece-goods.

Note ¹, p. 59.—Wallace says that Kási Báí was the mother of Sayáji Ráv and Fate Sing, and that a third wife Gangá Báí bore to Dámáji three sons—Piláji Ráv, Mánáji Ráv, and Morár Ráv. Forbes makes out that Fate Sing was full brother to Mánáji.

Note ², p. 59.—It is sad to observe in these and subsequent treaties made by the Gáikvád, who had succeeded in purchasing the support of the Poona Court, that the Peshvá's assistance is claimed against persons who should have been friends, not enemies,—that is, rivals of the Gáikvád house, the jágírdár of Kaḍi, and

State creditors,—sure signs these that the weakness of the Gáikvād State sprang from internal disorders.

Note ³, p. 61.—The Gáikvād's acquisition of a share in the Broach revenues has been variously dated 1744, after the battle of Anklésvara, and 1753. It may here be briefly noted that the British had many years previous to this established factories at Surat, Broach, and Cambay. A firman granting them privileges at Surat was dated the 25th June 1687, and the infringement of the rights granted by this firman led to quarrels with several rulers, and especially the Sidis of Jinjira. The latter were entrusted by the emperor with the protection of the sea trade, but in reality were pirates. Mr. Bouchier, who became Governor of Bombay in 1750, tried to gain the alliance of the Peshvá in a war on the coast pirates. Except in the expedition against Angria, however, no combination was effected, and on the 4th March 1759 the British took for themselves the castle of Surat.

Note ⁴, p. 68.—A lively account of this campaign is given of it by a spectator, Mr. Forbes, in his *Oriental Memoirs*. The description of the steel-clad cavalry, of the wholesale self-immolation (*trdgá*) of the Bháts at Nadiád, and of many curious incidents and personages, is well worth reading.

Note ⁵, p. 68.—The Lovibond incident is given at length in Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*.

CHAPTER IX.

HOW THE GÁIKVÁD FARED DURING THE STRUGGLE
BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE MARÁTHÁS—FATE
SING—MÁNÁJI—GOVIND RÁV.

It is sad to relate that while Colonel Keating was thus holding Fate Sing by the throat and getting ten more lákhs out of him, besides a bond for the remaining portion of the promised sum as the price of his alliance with Raghunáth Ráv, he was well aware that orders had been issued by his Government to break off all connection with the latter. But so it was; Warren Hastings had peremptorily bidden the Bombay Government to bring to an immediate end an "impolitic, dangerous, unauthorized, and unjust" war, and to surrender all the territory that had been acquired during its progress. His orders were reluctantly obeyed for the time being, and with respect to the first portion of the instructions only. But when the ball had once been set rolling, it was hard to know when or where it would stop. The struggle between the Maráthás and the English was not ended, but only deferred; and though for the present the two brothers Gáikvád were left to fight it out with their small exhausted armies and empty treasuries, both Maráthás and English felt that in the coming

contest the Gáikvád would be a valuable ally. Fate Sing, too, knew this, and made good use of his position.

Before Raghunáth Ráv and Colonel Keating left Gujarát they tried to bring Govind Ráv to terms, but foolish advice led him to insist on receiving Ahmadábád. He held six parganás, and refused to surrender them for one-third of the Baroda State and the promise of a jágir in the Dakhan worth five lákhs. In October he refused still better terms made him by Fate Sing, and a desultory war was kept up in the neighbourhood of the capital, which the allies had now left. In 1776 we hear of Govind Ráv's endeavours to annoy his brother from Ahmadábád; but in February 1778 his case must have indeed been a bad one, for in that year the Poona court recognized Fate Sing as Sená Khás Khel.¹ In fact every inducement was now held out to the latter to side with the Peshvá, or more accurately Náná Phadnávis, against the Bombay Government, and he willingly accepted the favourable terms made him. His nazar for the title conferred on him was far the smallest on record, and did not exceed five lákhs. True, he paid up ten and a half lákhs as arrears of tribute, and spent one láksh in distributing douceurs among the Poona officials; but it was agreed that he should not

Agreements between Fate Sing and the Peshvá, 1778, 1779, and 1782.

pay indemnity for service, and only four lákhs of tribute as long as the British were in Gujarát; and this was equivalent to an annual remission of ten lákhs. The

unfortunate Govind Ráv by the year 1782 had gone to Poona, where perhaps he did receive a *jágír*, and, less probably, the two *lákhs* promised to him by Fate Sing in 1778. The *Jágírdár* meanwhile managed to evade paying his nephew anything.

But one loss Fate Sing could not recover, and that was his share in the revenues of Broach; for by the treaty of Púrandhar (1st March 1776), which ratified the cessation of hostilities, the Honourable the East India Company obtained the whole of the Maráthá share in the city and parganá of Broach, and three *lákhs'* worth of territory in its neighbourhood, while, as pledges of the surrender, it retained till 1778 the parganá of Chikli and Koral and the town of Variav. It was certainly added that if the *Gáikvád* could prove that he had had no power to alienate any of his territory without the Peshvá's permission, the country ceded by Sayáji or Fate Sing would be restored. Fate Sing, however, was far too cunning to make this plea, of which the Peshvá might subsequently make dangerous use; so he simply argued that he had ceded Broach for aid from Rághobá, which had not been given him, and on the same ground he demanded the portion of the twenty-six *lákhs* which had been extorted by Colonel Keating. Naturally, he never was able to get one or the other, though he got back Sávali, and was at one time promised Pálanpúr, Tunmori, Bálasinor, and Virpúr. But the Peshvá never fulfilled this promise, and neither Fate Sing, nor Mánáji, nor Govind Ráv ceased claiming restitution, so that the discussion

continued till the Peshvá's fall, nearly forty years later.

On the 30th March 1779, after war had broken out again between the Peshvá and the Honourable Company, and the Bombay Government had suffered both defeat and disgrace, Governor Hornby proposed to make use of Gujarát in the campaign, because it was accessible from the sea for British vessels, and not divided from the Dakhan by precipitous gháts. Unlike the other great Maráthá chiefs, the Gáikvád would be a safe ally, because he was cut off from the rest; and if the Peshvá was beaten there might be a partition of the country, the Peshvá's districts north of the Mahí going to an independent Gáikvád, those south of the Tapti river to the English. So early was foreshadowed in the minds of the two allies, (for the original purpose had been Fate Sing's, in 1772,) what was eventually to take place. Warren Hastings approved of the plan, and in the middle of December Colonel Goddard, a very different person from Colonel Keating, crossed the Tapti and took Dabhai from the Peshva at the opening of 1780. Fate

1st January 1780.

18th " "

Sing was urged by Núná Phadnávis to hold firm to the Peshvá's side; but, what-

ever his secret wishes might have been, he was constrained by the proximity of the English army to sign a treaty at Kandila (Dabhai) on the 26th January 1780, which was both offensive and defensive. He was to be independent of the Peshvá, to aid the British with three thousand cavalry, and to divide

Gujarát with the Honourable Company. He was also to cede Sinnor and some territory in the Surat *aththávisi* on the day of the capture of Ahmadábád from the Peshvá.²

No sooner were these terms agreed upon than Goddard marched on Ahmadábád and took it by assault (15th February 1780), whereupon it was handed over to Fate Sing, who gave in exchange certain portions of the Surat *aththávisi*, excepting Songad. Goddard then turned to meet Sindia's and Holkar's troops, which had crossed the Narmadá towards the end of February, ineffectually threatening Dabhai. There followed some feints and manœuvres between Sindia and Goddard in the immediate neighbourhood of Baroda, and on the 2nd and the 19th April Goddard made attempts, which were only partly successful, to surprise Sindia by night attacks, while the latter was encamped in the neighbourhood of Pávágad, the hill-fort that from a distance of twenty miles overlooks the plain in which Baroda is situated. Little else of consequence happened before the rains of this year, if we except the taking of Párnerá and two other hill-forts near Damán. When hostilities were renewed at their close, Fate Sing proved himself an efficient and willing ally in the defence of Gujarát; for to the end of the campaign he placed at the disposal of the British a force of five thousand cavalry, commanded by his brother Mánáji Gáikvád.³

The year 1781 was marked by more than one serious disaster to the British arms in the Konkana,

and, though before the previous year had ended Bassein had been captured, a great danger threatened the Honourable Company. Haidar A'li, who had lately gained a victory over a British detachment, the Nizám and all the Maráthá chiefs were scheming to effect a combination against the power of the English. The latter consequently felt it imperative on them to detach, if possible, the Maráthás from this confederacy, that they might meet the enemy they most dreaded on more equal terms.

For some time they hoped to make a favourable agreement with Náná Phadnávis through the negotiations of General Goddard, whose position in Gujarrát, strengthened as it was by Fate Sing and Rághobá, was certainly a powerful one. But a stroke of fortune—the utter rout of Sindia's army—afforded them a still more eligible means of bringing their difficult task to an end. Mahádáji Sindia after his defeat made separate terms for himself with the British Government, and then volunteered to mediate between his late foes and the Poona court, for he saw the importance of acquiring, by the line he thus took up, a position equal or superior to that of the central authority of the Maráthás. The result was the treaty of Sálbái, concluded on the 17th May 1782, though not ratified by both parties till some time after, a treaty which brought no advantage to Fate Sing. In justice it should be allowed that if one thing more than another hindered the British from making this to them most advantageous treaty, it was the necessity of cancelling their agreement with the Gáikvád

by the surrender to the Peshvá of the city of Ahmadábád. The upshot of the whole, however, was this, that after a five years' war Fate Sing was to be left in *full* possession of all the territory he possessed at its commencement, and of the territories ceded by the treaty of Purandhar, while the Peshvá was not to claim from him any arrears of tribute which had fallen due during the continuance of the war, though for the future he had a right to expect the usual service. Broach the Gáikvâd did not recover, for it was made over to Sindia by his new friends, and was placed under the management of Bháskar Ráv.

For the next few years Fate Sing was left in undisturbed enjoyment of his territories; and during this interval, though there is nothing special to note, we may imagine him as conducting his affairs with his usual cleverness and prudence. His administration was marked by an almost sordid parsimony. But one branch of expenditure must be noticed with regret—the establishment of a body of foreign mercenaries, Arabs and others, who were shortly to bring on the State disaster and ruin. There were perhaps dark traits of jealousy and cruelty in his character which have not been given in this history; but in the main he was one of the rulers to whom the Gáikvâd House owes its continued life and prosperity, for he deftly steered the bark of the State through a time of great danger, and extricated it from its difficulties with trifling loss.

Fate Sing died on the 21st December 1789, from an accidental fall from the upper story of his palace,

and it might be supposed that he would certainly be succeeded by his brother Govind Ráv. But, in spite of the loud remonstrances of this luckless and rather foolish person, and of the support he for some time received from Sindia, with whom he had long had connection, the Poona darbár favoured the claims of Mánáji Gáikvád, who was accordingly installed as regent for Sayáji. He did not, of course, get the post without making certain promises—the payment of a nazar of 33,13,000 rupees and of Fate Sing's arrears, amounting to thirty-six lákhs;—or, according to some Maráthá manuscripts, the payment of a sum of sixty lákhs in four years, in instalments of fifteen lákhs.

Though Sindia after a time abandoned Govind Ráv's cause, the latter kept on claiming his rights till, on the 1st August 1793, Mánáji died. Even then Govind Ráv did not get to the *gadí* unopposed, for the Poona people detained him till he had agreed to the following monstrous terms:—Mánáji still owed twenty lákhs, and he was to take up the debt; his nazar was to be the largest on record,—as Fate Sing's had been the smallest,—that is, 56,38,000 rupees; during the past three years neither tribute nor remission of service had been paid, and the two, as has been stated, amounted to 14,54,000 rupees a year, so that 43,62,000 rupees were owing on this score. He was therefore ordered to surrender all the jewels, money, and clothes he could find in the Baroda palace; to restore Sávali, which had been given to Fate Sing; to give the Peshvá three

elephants, five horses, and jewels worth one lách; and—let this be carefully noted—to *part with all the Gáikvád's territories south of the Tapti river, and with his share of the customs of the city of Surat.*

In short, Náná Phaḍnávis had resolved to ruin the Gáikvád family by the dismemberment of the Baroda State, and he would certainly have carried out his purpose if the British had not interfered to save their old ally. They peremptorily informed the Poona darbár that, according to the terms of the Sálbái treaty, the possessions of the Gáikvád were to be left intact, and that all thoughts of annexing any portion of his territory must be abandoned. The Peshvá never again found an opportunity for doing his hereditary foe an injury, and the British have rendered many a fresh service to the Baroda State, though none perhaps has equalled the one just described, for which no adequate return ever has been or could be made.

Note ¹, p. 71.—Sayáji Ráv was still alive at this time.

Note ², p. 74.—No final exchange of this treaty was made between the Supreme Government and Fate Sing, though it was ratified by the former. It was cancelled by the treaty of Sálbái.

Note ³, p. 74.—Captain Earle was at this time appointed the first Resident Agent at the Baroda Court. He was however recalled after the treaty of Sálbái was signed, and his brief term of office was not distinguished by any particular merit.

A.D. 1793.]

CHAPTER X.

GOVIND RÁV'S REIGN.

Perhaps the strong and parsimonious rule of Fate Sing might, if it had been prolonged, have preserved the State from some of the terrible evils which it was now to encounter; but his successors Govind Ráv, Ánand Ráv, and the youthful Fate Sing were weak men, in whose times all real power passed into the hands of ministers. The rivalries and ambitions of these men were far more injurious to the State than even the narrow selfishness of a determined ruler like Sayáji Ráv, who succeeded the three above-mentioned princes. But the counsels of interested advisers wrought less harm than the low and cruel plots of the members of the Gáikvád family itself, who gave too willing an ear to their suggestions. Dámáji and his brother did each other injury, and, as we have seen, for years Fate Sing, Govind Ráv, and Mánáji by their internecine strife played into the hands of their enemy the Peshvá; but the evil was intensified after their time—son strove against father, brother against brother, cousin against cousin, while wives and mothers pushed the interests of their husbands and sons with an entire disregard of justice or the common good of the family. The story which has now to be told is therefore a gloomy one.

Before passing on to some of the chief incidents of Govind Ráv's reign, it must be clearly understood that the change his succession brought with it amounted almost to a revolution. Govind Ráv and his brothers had been fighting against each other for many years, and when the deaths of Fate Sing and Mánáji destroyed the hopes of their party the latter could expect no mercy at the hands of the new ruler. Govind Ráv accordingly not only turned out the old ministers, but, as he was at first the humble servant of the Poona court, he brought with him from the Dakhan, where he had long resided, new servants, the ancestors of several of the present Sardárs, and among others the Mozumdár and the Phadnávis. He also opened the way to greatness to a Parbhu family, of whom the first and most conspicuous members were Rávji Appáji, the Diván, and his brother Bábáji, who in time became the commander of the State army. The Baroda State also became more amenable to the dictates of the Peshvá than it had ever been, and this tendency towards passive obedience would probably have become still more marked, if in the struggle between the British and the Peshvá the Gaikvád had not been forced by circumstances to side with the former, to his lasting gain. The State's continually increasing pecuniary embarrassments during Govind Ráv's reign probably forced it into this abject position, and these embarrassments were mainly the result of the huge debt due to the Peshvá. For instance, by an agreement made in 1797, we find that Govind Ráv had paid the Peshvá Rs. 78,33,212,

that he had been excused from paying sixty lákhs, and that he still owed Rs. 39,82,789.

For want of space no allusion can be made in this history to the great wars which were being waged in India during the latter portion of the 18th century. Yet every event that took place influenced the fortunes of the Gáikvád; during the fit of non-interference in British policy the influence of the Poona court weighed heavily on him, and the thorough success of British arms in Mysore alone enabled the Government to fight the Peshvá with success, and to take his place in Gujarát. In Maháráshtra itself much depended on the result of the rivalry between Mahádáji Sindia and Náná Phaḍnávis, for the former aimed at self-aggrandizement even at the cost of the disruption of the Maráthá confederacy, while the latter was exerting himself to keep up the central authority of the Bráhman party in Poona. Mahádáji died in 1794, and Náná Phaḍnávis was left to weave his policy till the young Mádhava's untimely death left the throne vacant for his cousin Báji Ráv, whose hatred of the ministers and his party led, as we shall see, to the lease of a large territory to the Gáikvád. But of far greater interest to this history is the conflict for sovereignty in Gujarát, and for suzerainty over the Gáikvád, which sprang up between the British and the young Peshvá.

Govind Ráv was at length invested with the title of Sená Khás Khel on the 19th December 1793, but he did not enter his capital even then without opposition. His own illegitimate son by a Rájputri

princess of Dharampúr, named Kánoji, obtained some troops from his mother and from Sindia's agent in Broach, and with two thousand Arabs and some six hundred Pathán horse threw himself into Baroda. There is a strange consistency in the selfish treachery of these mercenary troops, and in this the first instance of their interference in State quarrels they gave up their leader to Govind Ráv. Kánoji was placed in confinement, but managed to escape to the hills in the disguise of a woman. Here he was joined by the Bhíls, and with their assistance ravaged Sánkheḍa and Bhádarpúr. He was subsequently joined by Malhár Ráv, the son of the late Khaṇḍe Ráv Gáikvád, Jágírdár of Kaḍi—an ominous alliance, destined for many years to work the Baroda State much injury and vexation.

Khaṇḍe Ráv had died in 1785, and Malhár Ráv's inheritance comprised Kaḍi, worth $3\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs, and Kapaḍvanj and Dehgám, worth $1\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs; for Naḍiád, as has been stated, had been annexed by Fate Sing. By an arrangement with the latter rájá, instead of furnishing Baroda with 400 horse the Jágírdár was to pay a yearly *peshkash* of one lách and twenty thousand rupees. But because Khaṇḍe Ráv had supported Govind Ráv against his brother, his son thought that he was entitled to the remission of this sum. His manner of asking for this favour was however so displeasing to Govind Ráv that it was not granted, and as a consequence of his disappointment the Jágírdár joined Kánoji. A campaign ensued in the neighbourhood of Kaḍi, and Govind Ráv's forces

were three times driven back, partly by the fiery prowess of Kánoji, whose success rapidly made him lose favour with his relation and ally. Govind Ráv cleverly turned this rivalry into an open rupture by contriving to drop in the Jágírdár's way a forged letter which purported to be from Kánoji and gave him cause to believe that the latter meditated treachery. Once again the unfortunate Kánoji had to flee to the Sátpúrá hills, whence he was decoyed by his father's false promises, and subsequently again placed in confinement. In 1794 the Jágírdár purchased peace by the payment of $5\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs of rupees, when the peshkash was fixed at 1,15,000 rupees. The terms of this agreement were for a time faithfully preserved, for we find that Malhár Ráv took an active part in the campaign against Abá Shelúkar, of which, with its momentous consequences, we shall now read the account. There is little else of great interest in this reign, if we except the facts that in 1794 Govind Ráv was near seizing Cambay, and was only dissuaded from doing so by the remonstrances of the British Government, and that the Gáikvád's force took part in the great victory of the Maráthás over the Nizám at Kurdlá, whom Sir John Shore, too anxious to keep the peace, had abandoned to their common enemy.

When Náná Phaḍnávís was arrested in Sindia's camp, his partizan Abá Shelúkar, who was then acting for Chimnájí Pant, (Appá Sáheb,) the nominee of Báji Ráv, as subha of the Peshvá's possessions in

Ahmadábád, shared his fate. Govind Ráv was directed to farm the district, and Petlád was actually occupied. But he and his servants Rávji Appáji and Bábáji were at that time fairly well disposed towards Ábá Shelúkar. They interceded for him, and he was permitted to return to Ahmadábád on payment of ten lákhs of rupees, a sum which was raised by the Parbhu minister on condition that Petlád should be made over to his brother Bábáji as security for the repayment of the money. The transaction, however, early led to disputes, which began indeed at Baroda, while Ábá was on his way to his province and was still the guest of the minister.

He also contrived to embitter the quarrel by making an appeal to the Mahárájá, so that it was not long before the hidden anger of the two burst into flame. It is difficult now to tell how the war commenced, but Ábá was a cruel, unscrupulous man, and one who was never slow to give cause for anger. On one occasion he plundered a body of *gosains* travelling through the Baroda State, and refused to surrender his prize to the Mahárájá; and while the latter was preparing to avenge the insult, Ábá attacked the Gaikvád's garrison at Ahmadábád. Govind Ráv at once prepared for war,¹ and deputed messengers to inform the Peshvá of his grievances. It so happened that just as Báji Ráv got this news Náná Phadnávis died, and the young Peshvá felt himself at liberty to take his revenge on the partizans of the minister whom he had so long hated. He made the quarrel his own, directed Govind Ráv to eject Ábá, and himself to

take the farm. One consequence of these orders was that the Gáikvár obtained the administration of that half of northern Gujarát which belonged to the Peshvá; another, that he charged the cost of the war to the Peshvá, who probably thought that the prize to be won, i.e. the farm of the Ahmadábád districts, was sufficient payment, for he disallowed the claim. Meanwhile the campaign was proceeding rapidly; Bábáji, by a forced march with a detachment of his troops, fell suddenly on Ábá Shelúkar's army at Bántvá and routed it. In a second engagement on the following day he would, however, have probably been worsted, if the remainder of his force had not opportunely come up and converted a temporary discomfiture into a victory. Ahmadábád was then besieged in the ordinary incompetent way of Maráthá troops, and Ábá was defeated in a second battle. But four months after the commencement of operations Ábá Shelúkar's Arab mercenaries, acting as Kánoji's followers had done, delivered their leader up to Bábáji, who forwarded him to Govind Ráv. His silly fractious behaviour forced the Maharájá to imprison him in Baroda, whence he was taken to Borsad, and there he remained many years in confinement, till the British obtained his release long after his existence had ceased to cause any one any anxiety.

The Ahmadábád districts were nominally farmed by a favourite but illegitimate son of the Maharájá, named Bhagavant Ráv, for a term of five years at five lákhs a year, and it unfortunately so happened

that the proceeds of the first two years—that is, ten lákhs—were pledged, by the Peshvá's orders, to Sindia. The farm had hitherto fetched not more than three and a half lákhs, but even at five lákhs it was well worth taking up, for at one blow all those evils were removed which arose from there being two governments whose boundaries were not accurately fixed, but were at many points interlaced. The great anxiety of the Gáikvâd to retain the farm, the interest the Bombay Government had in maintaining such an arrangement, and the policy of Bâji Râv to gain a hold upon Baroda by resuming the administration of Ahmadâbâd, eventually led, as will be seen, as much as anything else, to the rupture which ended in the fall of Bâji Râv, and the independence of the Gáikvâd.

Note ¹, p. 84.—Mr. Forbes thus describes the efforts made by Govind Râv to obtain the aid of the British:—"In 1800 Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, having arrived at Surat, received a visit from some vakils despatched by Govind Râv, whose real object it was to procure British assistance for the reduction of Shelûkar. Mr. Duncan wished the Gáikvâd Government to cede the parganâ of Chauriâsi and their share of the chauth of the revenues of Surat, but evaded the application for assistance against Shelûkar." The Peshvá disapproved of the cession of territory to the British, and so the proposal fell through. Still in Art. 3 of the agreement made on the 15th March 1802 with the minister Râvji it is expressly stated: "Chaurâsi and the Gáikvâd's share of the chauth of Surat having been ceded to the Honourable Company in pursuance of the engagement, by letters to that effect from the late Govind Râv," etc.

A.D. 1800.]

CHAPTER XI.

ANAND RÁV MAHÁRÁJÁ—THE EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE INTERFERENCE OF THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT.

Govind Ráv was busy in collecting the money to be paid for the Ahmadábád farm,—had in fact with difficulty scraped together the full sum of five lákhs,—and, in order to counterbalance the great power of Rávji

A.D. 1800. Ápúji, was negotiating for the services of a brother to

Jádhav Ráv Bháskar, then a favourite minister of Sindia's, who might administer for him his son Bhagvant Ráv's farm, (though eventually the post was given to Rávji's cousin Raghunáth Mahipat Ráv, called Kákáji,) when he died on the 19th of September 1800.

Once again the State, impoverished by the payment to the Peshvá two years before this of sixty lákhs of rupees, was plunged into what may almost be termed a civil war. From a perusal of this short history it will be impossible to realize the miserable condition into which the State rapidly fell, as a few leading facts alone can be mentioned. The treasury was empty; almost all the districts were mortgaged to creditors, and the few remaining ones were farmed to unscrupulous men who made haste only to extort money; the tributary states, accustomed to pay only when compelled by military force, withheld their tributes with impunity; the Gáikváds were split into

factions; a foreigner whose chief anxiety was to enrich his own family was nominally at the head of affairs; the maintenance of the army alone exceeded the receipts of the State; no attention was given to the administration of justice, the protection of the public, and such matters; there was, properly speaking, no government, for all real power lay in the hands of the rapacious and overbearing Arab soldiery; in public and private matters there was an amazing disbelief in the possibility of any man being honest or true, and the government was distrusted most of all. Meanwhile Sindia and the Peshvá—perhaps, too, Holkar—were watching the dissolution with interested views, and the only way out of the dangers which encircled the State was a desperate one—an appeal to British arbitration.

Mercenary troops had been introduced into the State by Fate Sing, but with a sparing hand; before Govind Ráv's death their numbers were doubled; and Rávji Áppáji, in the troubles now to come, augmented their numbers and increased their power and privileges. Of these mercenaries 13,126 were foot, and 3,781 were cavalry, and they cost the State monthly Rs. 2,99,642. The most esteemed were the Arab adventurers, or those who came from distant parts of Asia, such as Baghdad and Abyssinia; for the descendants of such men born in the country were accounted less brave or less skilled, as also were the Patháns and others of the warlike nations to the north of Hindustán. Some Arabs came to India alone and on foot, others brought horses and retainers,

and according to their bravery was the amount of their pay. It was not at Baroda alone that the services of these foreigners were sought, for at this time almost every native court in India entertained mercenary troops, and even in this short history traces of the mischief they made will be noticed not only in Baroda, but at Dhár and Páhlánpúr. At this time the Arabs held the forts of Baroda, Borsád, Sankhedá, and other strongholds. They were generally split into two factions, but in any crisis they were capable of banding against any outsider who might threaten their privileges. Naturally they were selfish and independent, amenable only to the persuasions of their paymasters, Mangal Párákh and Sámál Bechar, each of whom headed a party, and willing to support the administration of any ruler who could pay them best. In the darbár their insolence disgusted the sardárs; abroad they were feared on account of their violence; and yet, strange to say, in the absence of all public confidence, these men were trusted by the people to keep the government to its promises. It is with difficulty, in these orderly times, that we can realize how then in Gujarát a *savkár* would not advance a Rájpút or Koli *girásia* a loan without the guarantee of a Bhát or Cháran; or how the Gáikvád's subjects refused to believe that a promise would be kept or peaceable conduct be preserved by the government unless the Arabs had received from it a promise to that effect. This guarantee system was called *bahándarí*, and it naturally invested the mercenary troops, or their leaders, with an almost unlimited power of

interfering between the government and the chief officers of the administration.

When Govind Ráv died the minister happened to be away, but Bábjí, Mir Kamál-ud-dín, and the two paymasters, backed by the Arabs and Jamadárs, dissuaded the Rání Gahena Báí from becoming a *satí*, by assurances that their support would be given her. This lady during her late husband's time had been very powerful, and she did not intend to relinquish her influence, nor was there much fear of this happening if Ánand Ráv, the legitimate and eldest son of Govind Ráv, were placed on the *gadí*, for he was of a naturally feeble mind, rendered almost idiotic from addiction to the use of opium. Ánand Ráv was accordingly placed on the *gadí*, and Rávji returning to Baroda carried on for him the administration of the State.

But Kánoji, who was still in confinement, now saw a chance of gaining power. He entered Baroda in disguise, gained admittance to the presence of his feeble but really good-natured elder brother, and by degrees so won upon him that he was able to make a show of being *mutálik*, and really to deprive Rávji of all authority.

Thus matters proceeded for a while; but Kánoji, however headstrong, was unable to bend the mercenary troops to his will, and after spending the money Govind Ráv had collected he was no better able to conciliate them than Rávji had been. It is possible that the Gáikvād family hated the foreign minister, but Kánoji's conduct towards several of

their number soon became unbearable, for to satisfy his Arabs he had to squeeze money out of his relations by violent methods. He confined the Rájá himself, used his ladies, relations, and servants with harshness, and ill-treated the widow and daughter of Fate Sing and the widow of Mánáji. The Arabs got tired of him at last, and Rávji's promises to them were fair: so one night they all came to an understanding, quietly

surrounded Kánoji's house,
27th January 1801. and after arresting him

delivered him to Ánand Ráv, who, after loading him with well-deserved reproaches, caused him to be confined in Rámpúr Roteah.

Once again Rávji was in power, but the Arabs had become more difficult to manage than ever, and on one occasion when the minister was entering Baroda after a visit to Cambay, where he had been negotiating with the Bombay Government for armed assistance, they fired on his *pálkhí* and killed or wounded most of his *pálkhí*-bearers. They probably foresaw that the day the British were called in they themselves would be turned out of the State. But besides the Arabs Rávji had on his hands all the members of the Gáikvád family, each of whom expected something from him, while he had nothing to give. First and foremost of course was the Jágirdár of Kadi, Malhár Ráv Gáikvád, who loudly demanded the entire remission of his *peshkash*, and who, when his request was refused, found that Kánoji, of whose arrest he had first fully approved, was being ill-treated by a foreigner. Gujrábái, the daughter

of Fate Sing urged him on, and he was soon joined by Múkund Ráv, the younger and illegitimate brother of the Rájá, who quitted Baroda with all his moveable property under pretence of a pilgrimage to Dákur.

Then Malhár Ráv took the field, ostensibly with the purpose of righting Kánoji and of freeing Ánand Ráv, whose orders he pretended he was carrying out. Rávji asserted with equal vehemence that all he did was by the command of his sovereign ; and both he and Malhár Ráv applied to the Bombay Government to arbitrate on their claims, both offering to surrender the Chauriúsí and the Surat chauth, which Govind Ráv, when preparing to fight Ábá Sheldkar, had ineffectually tendered to the English for their assistance.

Gujrá Báí, in addition to these cessions, offered Chikli. Mr. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, was in no hurry to interfere, though he viewed the condition of Baroda with anxiety; as in a possible war with Sindia, or, as seemed more probable, with Báji Ráv, the Gáikvád would in all likelihood again be the ally of the British, and the diminution of his power would be as disadvantageous as the consequent increase of either of the two other Maráthá chiefs. He finally determined to send Major Alexander Walker to Baroda to arbitrate between Rávji and Malhár Ráv according to the apparent justice of their views and the wishes of Ánand Ráv. To support Major Walker's decision, a small and, as it turned out, an inadequate force of 2,000 troops was sent to Cambay.

By the end of 1801 matters had approached a crisis; Bábáji's troops were

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on the move from Ahmadábád;

the Jágirdár had sent out a force from Kañi under his brother Hanmant Ráv and an old Gáikvádi officer called Sívarám, who had joined him against the Diván; some of the Gáikvád's territory had been overrun, and a slight engagement with the enemy had taken place. Rávji's position was most critical, for both he and his relatives were more or less at the mercy of the Arabs, whom his conduct in applying to the English had exasperated. Yet the minister did not wholly rely on the Bombay Government for assistance. It has been mentioned that Sindia had been promised ten lákhs, or the proceeds of the Ahmadábád farm for the first two years, and that the money accumulated by Govind Ráv had been squandered by Kánoji. Now Sindia's minister, Yádhav Ráv Bháskar, for whose brother Govind Ráv had once made application, was an old friend of Rávji's, owing to the following curious incidents. Yádhav Ráv in early life had been the clerk of a farmer of revenue in the Baroda State, called Khandopant Náná; he had next risen to be Fate Sing's diván, but on that person's death Mánáji had persecuted both him and his brothers Rámchandra and Lakshuman on certain charges of embezzlement; and finally, when Govind Ráv succeeded to the *gadí*, he had owed his release from prison to the friendly offices of Rávji. At this moment he and his brothers were in high favour with Sindia, and he was urging Rávji to at

least pay his master the ten lákhs, if not to ask him for the protection which he was seeking from the English; and Rávji was greatly led by his counsels. Sindia's position was really a threatening one, for, with the consent of the Peshvá, he might wrest from the Gáikvád the Ahmadábád farm, just as the latter had taken it from Ábá Shelúkar.

Major Walker reached Baroda on the 29th January 1802, and lost no time

A.D. 1802.

in interviewing the Mahárájá. By patient inquiry of Ánand Ráv in his sober and more lucid moments he came to the conclusion that the Gáikvád did not countenance the Jágírdár, though he was reluctant to keep his brother in prison, that he feared the Arabs, and that he did not look on the minister as an enemy. Major Walker also concluded that the Jágírdár was moved by a purely selfish policy; but he found that all arbitration was impossible, as this ambitious man refused to surrender the towns of Visalnagar and Bījapúr which he had taken.

No course was therefore left him but to side with the minister in fighting against the Jágírdár, whose army amounted to twelve or fifteen thousand men, the best or perhaps only disciplined soldiers of whom were Sívarám's seven hundred Hindustánis. The British force did not move from Cambay till the 23rd of February, nor enter the Kaḍi territory till the 10th of March, accompanied by Bábáji. As the Jágírdár falsely pretended to come to an accommodation, Major Walker pushed on till he came

within sight of Kaḍi on the 16th. The following day the small British army made an attack on the enemy's fortified camp, which lay below the walls of the town; but its flanks, which were composed of Bábáji's and Kamál-ud-dín's troops, moved forward so slowly that Major Walker found his centre alone on the field, and the enemy was in such strength that he was forced slowly to retire to some neighbouring heights and so regain his camp. Here he entrenched himself and sent to Bombay for more troops, which reached him, under the command of Sir William Clarke, on the 24th of April. There were now six thousand British troops in the field, and on the 30th the enemy's camp was carried by assault.¹ On the 3rd of May, Malhár Ráv surrendered himself to Major Walker, and the gates of his capital were thrown open. The Jágírdár was afterwards permitted to live at Naḍiád on an allowance of a lákḥ and a quarter a year, till he ran away and began a fresh insurrection; but his territory was now finally annexed to the Baroda State. In this way not only were the Gáikvád's possessions increased by districts worth five lákhs, but, what was far more important, the existence of an almost independent chief came to an end, whose selfishness and duplicity had for two generations worked an incalculable amount of mischief to Baroda.

The next service rendered by the British troops was of a similar description. Ganpatráv Gáikvád, a descendant of Piláji, and Jágírdár or *Mámlatlár*

of Sankhedá and Bahádarpúr, raised the standard of revolt, in the following June or July; and on the 7th of the last mentioned month his fort, which had hitherto resisted every attack of a Gáikvád army, capitulated. Ganpatráv and Múráv Ráv Gáikvád then fled to the court of Ánand Ráv Powár of Dhár, which now became the centre of disaffection to the new administration in Baroda.

The assistance afforded by the British to Ánand Ráv was not gratuitously given. On the contrary, though the services rendered by the British arms and policy were splendid, the payment they received in return was, it must be admitted, equally great. It may be remembered that the minister was nearly shot by the Arabs on his return from a conference with the Governor of Bombay at Cambay. There it was decided (15th March 1802) that in case the Bombay Government interfered, it should be presented with the Chauriásí parganá and the Gáikvád's portion of the chaúth of Surat, the expenses of any campaign against the Jágirdár were to be paid, and the Surat *azkhávisi*, or such part of it as belonged to the Gáikvád, was to be mortgaged to them as security for the sum due. Finally, after the Kádi war, and *when the Arab mercenaries had been disbanded*, a force of two thousand British sepoy, with a battery of European artillery, was to be subsidized by the Gáikvád. The monthly cost of these troops was estimated at 65,000 rupees, and cessions in *jaidád* were to be made of that value.

These were the bases of the subsidiary treaty of 1802, but it should be added that, in addition to the grants promised by Ravji, on the 4th of June the parganā of Chikli was bestowed on the British as a free gift, and to this

Value of ināms:—	
Chauriāsi.....	Rs. 90,000
Surat Chauth ..	50,000
Chik'i	76,000
Khedā.....	42,000

Total...Rs. 2,58,000

were added on the 3rd May 1803 the fort and jāgir of Khedā. The cession in *jaidād* was deferred till 1803, owing to the mortgaged state of Baroda, but in the interim the revenues of Kāthiāvad and Kaḍi were pledged. The expenses of the army during the first year were placed at 7,80,000 rupees, bearing nine per cent. interest. Finally, by January 1803, the fol-

Agreement 18th Feb. 1803.

lowing districts were fairly ceded in *jaidād*:—Dholkā, worth four and a half lākhs;

Nadiād, one and three-quarter lākhs, Vijápūr, 1,30,000 rupees; the *tappa* of Kaḍi, worth 25,000 rupees,—making a total of 7,80,000 rupees. As will be hereafter seen, these were not the only cessions made for the subsidy of troops. The British also undertook to pay off the arrears due to the Arab mercenaries, provided the Gāikvād repaid them by June 1805; and meanwhile there were pledged the revenues of the Baroda, Koral, Sinor, Petlād, and Ahmadābād parganās.

This arrangement must have appeared very satisfactory to the Bombay Government, and very neces-

sary to the Baroda State, but by the treaty of Sálbái the Baroda territory was not to be partitioned or diminished, and the British had prevented Náná Phadnávis from dealing thus with Govind Ráv, so it is doubtful if Báji Ráv could have felt otherwise than displeased with what had taken place.

Note ¹, p. 95.—In the first action the loss in killed and wounded had been 140. In the assault on the camp the loss in killed and wounded was Europeans 104, natives 58, officers 4.

A.D. 1802.]

CHAPTER XII.

HOW THE BRITISH TOOK THE PLACE OF THE ARABS AND
THE PESHVÁ AT BARODÁ.

It has been seen that Rájvi's arrangement at Cambay and the subsidiary treaty both included measures to rid the State of the Arab mercenaries, and in their place as a military force there were to be subsidized British troops. But, as has been remarked, the Arabs filled a curious position, for in a thousand matters they stood surety that the Government would keep its promises or do its duty in some way to certain individuals or classes of its subjects. Now when the Bombay Government took up the *baháñdári* engagement of the Arabs, and, in addition, pledged itself to see that certain large debts were paid, what was the natural consequence? The Bombay Government was of opinion that the *baháñdári* conferred on it "the right to a uniform and systematic participation in the internal authority of the Gáikvád's government, even in cases in which the *baháñdári* was not directly concerned," and that "the Company had a right to interfere in the most important public affairs"—or, as Colonel Walker put it, a right to a leading and active interference in the most important public affairs, in checking the rapacity of the Government officers, and in punishing their delinquency or contumacy in concert with the Sarkár.

In approving the treaty of 1802, Ánand Ráv on his side wrote officially "that in consequence of there being many evil-disposed persons among the Arabs who have plotted against my liberty and even my life, I desire that my subjects will pay no attention to my orders in this situation, but hear what Major Walker has to say." And in the case of Rávji Appáji and his relatives and the Mozumdár, all high officers of the State, "even should I myself or my successors commit anything improper or unjust the English Government shall interfere."

Such were the vast and ill-defined powers granted to the British, and there ensued a close and searching criticism of every act of the Baroda administration, accompanied by a strict control over its finances. The Maharájá took no part in the government, as he was held incompetent to do so, and it consisted of a commission of which the Resident or his native agent was a member, and without whom its acts were invalid.

The interference spoken of by Colonel Walker was indeed active, and beyond a doubt the motives of those who interfered were upright, and in a sense justifiable. Walker, Carnac, and Williams were wise and good officers, and for a time they had the assistance of no less a person than Gangádhara Shástri. Besides all this it was always contemplated that the *bahándári* should cease, and the interference become less close, when the State freed from debt could stand by itself. But somehow this policy of interference did not in the end prove to be a perfect success. It is

true that the State was for a time rendered solvent, and it got out of difficulties which alone it could not have surmounted. But the moment when the interference should end did not appear to the native ruler to come quickly enough, and instead of an alliance between a grateful and a gratified State there arose bitter feelings, the traces of which have taken long in disappearing. At first, however, there was a considerable amount of accord, and it is pleasant to record what was done during this friendly time. A friendly time, that is, between the Resident and the poor witless Ánand Ráv or the youthful Fate Sing, or again between the Resident and the administration of Rávji and Bábjí; for from the outset there was nothing but unpleasantness between the British Resident and his party at Baroda on the one side and certain members of the Gáikvád family on the other. There followed plots, insurrections and wars, which culminated in the death of Gangádhār Shástri, while there were interwoven with this sad event many others of which the effects are still keenly felt.

Before proceeding with the history of the Baroda State, it must be noticed that while the British were gaining a footing there, Holkar and Sindia were struggling for the custody of the Peshvá's person, and that in 1802 Yeshvant Ráv Holkar defeated his rival near Poona, whereupon Báji Ráv applied to the British for assistance. The consequence was the treaty of Bassein, (31st December 1802,) which affected the Baroda State nearly, so that particular attention should be paid to this event. As Mr. El-

phinstone remarked, the Peshvá recognized the state of affairs brought about by Rávji's convention at Cambay and the treaty of Baroda, (29th July 1802,) "by which were fixed the establishment of British instead of the Peshvá's ascendancy at Baroda; British protection of the Gáikvád, and interposition in the negotiations with Poona; British guarantee to the succession to the *gadí*," &c. A careful consideration of these words will show that in 1802 the British deprived the Peshvá of all but nominal suzerainty over the Gáikvád. There were outstanding debts, of course, which had to be paid to the Poona Government, long arrears of tribute, claims and counter claims to be settled, but the arbitration of these matters was as a final resource to be left to the British. There was also a fixed tribute to be paid, but there was to be no more interference with Baroda; that was to be left entirely to the British. For more than twelve years Báji Ráv laboured to undo the effects of the Baroda and Bassein treaties, with promises, with threats, by the withdrawal of the Ahmadábád farm, and by connivance at the murder of Gangádhār Shástri; but the task was beyond his powers, as will be seen.¹

By the agreement at Cambay and the subsequent treaty of Baroda, the British, whose armed assistance had been purchased by a cession of territory, were bound to see that the Arabs were dismissed or greatly reduced, and the expenditure on the army curtailed, or at least brought to the level at which it was kept in Fate Sing's time. We shall read in this chapter

how the political strength of the Arabs was broken and they themselves expelled, but the reduction of the expenditure on the army was too great an undertaking to be quickly accomplished. Undoubtedly the revenues of the State could hardly be brought into a healthy condition as long as three-fourths of them were devoted to the army, and this the Resident knew very well; but Gujarát had been conquered by a small body of military adventurers, and though matters had long been tending to increase the authority of the Gáikvád at the expense of his fellow-Maráthás, though the immediate result of an alliance by which the prince was maintained on his *gadí* by foreign bayonets was to strengthen such a tendency, still a vast amount of powerful interests was vested in the continuance of a system by which the military classes absorbed sums wholly disproportionate to the revenues of the State.

Major Walker returned to Baroda from the Kadi campaign as Resident on the 11th July 1802, and from the outset entertained projects of quietly reducing the troops. The Arab *sibandi* cost the State about thirty-six lákhs a year, and Bábáji's new *sibandi*, as they were termed, about twelve lákhs, so he contemplated reducing the former to fifteen lákhs per annum, and to save nearly fifteen thousand rupees a month on Bábáji's levies. Rávji Appáji agreed with him on the expediency of the measure; but as time went on, the old man, bowed down by years and sickness, showed signs of fear and of reluctance to break with the paymasters of the Arabs. These

troops, as early as October 1802, gave marks of insubordination bordering on mutiny, and their position was a strong one, for they held all the gates of the capital, and within them as a sort of prisoner the person of the Mahárájá. Matters were brought to a crisis by an order of the Mahárájá for the surrender of Kánoji, who was kept by an Arab guard at Rámeah, to certain parties who were to convey him to Bombay. The very messenger who conveyed the order, a nephew of one of the Arab Jamádárs named Sultán Jáfár, urged Kánoji's jailors to disobey, and he was abetted by two of the chief Arabs in Baroda, Zehyá and Ábúd the Lame. Sultán Jáfár himself had not been consulted, and disapproved of the step; and consequently so sharp a quarrel ensued between the two Arab parties that on the 16th and 17th of November the inhabitants of the capital lived in terror of a free fight within the walls. At length, however, the violent party gained the ascendancy, and was joined by Sultán Jáfár on the 10th of December, before which time Kánoji had been allowed to abscond, and the Rájá had been kept confined to his palace. The paymasters, frightened at the devil they had helped to raise, fled from the city, and on the 18th of December the fort was invested by the British troops. The Laharípúra gate was held by Ben Haidar, the Champáner gate by Jáfár, the Water gate by Zehyá, and the Barhánpúr gate by several jamádárs including Ábúd. In taking up their positions at each of these gates according to the order above given, Colonel Woodington, Kamál-ud-dín and

Sakhárám, Major Holmes and Sitárám, and finally Kákáji and Amín Sáheb, the first mentioned officer lost forty or fifty men. But in the night a battery of five eighteen-pounders was raised close to the Laharípúrá gate, capable of demolishing it. For two days hostilities were suspended, in the hope that the Arabs would surrender, and the capital be left uninjured. But fighting was then renewed, and continued till the 25th, and on the 26th the Arabs evacuated the fort on easy terms, for they were allowed all arrears and a safeguard out of Gujarát, which country they promised to leave. On the 27th of December 1802 Ánand Ráv, who had been hurried out of the city, re-entered it with great pomp through the Laharípúrá Gate, which was placed under a guard of British troops, who, to gain the city, had lost in killed and wounded over 150 men, of whom seven were officers. But, as we shall see in the sequel, many of the Arabs broke their promise, and, under the command of Ábúd the Lame and the nominal leadership of Kánoji, for a long time continued to vex the country. But at any rate the British had done this great service—they had freed the country from the danger of a horrible anarchy, not only at the sacrifice of many lives, but by the timely advance of pecuniary assistance to pay off the troops.

Note ¹, p. 102.—It should also be noted that by the 10th Art. of the Treaty of Bassein the Peshvá resigned to the British his claims on the Chauth of Surat and his rights in the parganás of Chanriási and Chikli. This left the British in full possession of that part of Gujarát, for the Gaikvád had already ceded them his share.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE STATE PASSES THROUGH A TIME OF TROUBLE AND
DANGER FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT.

Kánoji, after his escape from confinement at Rá-mesh, fled to Rájpiplá, and found no difficulty in raising a large body of Kolis, and was soon after the siege of Baroda joined by a body of Arabs and Sindhis. Major Holmes, joining Sitárám's forces, met Kánoji at Vazira on the 11th of January 1803 and routed his little army. Pursuing him

A.D. 1803.

with difficulty, he came up with him again at Pratham-púr or Sávali on the 6th of February, and there, in the engagement which took place, the British troops lost many men, owing to the strong position the Arabs had taken up, and to the necessity they were under of recovering a captured gun. But the tussle which took place, though severe, was decisive, for Kánoji lost his treasure-chest and his baggage, while Ganpatráv, the Jágírdár of Sankhedá, and Morár Ráv Gáikvád, who had previously joined him, were both wounded. Kánoji fled, and though no longer in a position to inflict severe loss on the State, he was able to keep it in a constant state of vexatious alarm by hovering along the frontier, and by threatening to join either Sindia or Holkar in an invasion of the plains. His power was also increased by the

accession of Śivráṃ, the old Gaikvāḍi officer who had taken part in the Kaḍi war, and of the most turbulent of all the Baroda Arabs, Ábúd the Lame, who joined him in March with over five hundred men, of whom nearly one-half were Arabs. On the 2nd of March Major Holmes, after driving Kánoji out of Koral, defeated his Mewássi force at the Alowass village of Chopra. Again he had to leave Gujarát, and throughout the year he strove to maintain himself by bullying and plundering Barrea, Dangarpúr, Sonte, Lunávádá, and other small states, till they turned against him in disgust. Poor Kánoji was scarcely responsible for the excesses of his men, for he was really in the grasp of the lame Arab; and he was glad enough to be able at length to escape from him and to take refuge at Ujjáin, where for the present we must leave him.

While Major Walker was endeavouring to reform the army, to expel the Arabs, and to bring Kánoji to reason, in the years 1802 and 1803 much greater events were taking place in Maháráshṭrá, which threatened to complicate affairs in the Baroda State. As has been stated in the preceding chapter, Daulat Ráv Sindia and Yeshvant Ráv Holkar were engaged in a struggle for supremacy, and for the possession of Bájí Ráv's person. Their armies covered Central India, and both leaders threw covetous eyes on Gujarát. In September 1802 Holkar's Pindháris entered the Surat *aṭṭhávísí*, but after reverses they retired without doing much damage. Sindia's designs were more alarming. He had, as may be re-

membered, a claim of ten lákhs on the Ahmadábád farm, and to enforce payment he despatched towards northern Gujarát an army of twelve or fourteen thousand men, nominally under the command of Anand Ráv Powár of Dhár. This unfortunate young prince was the son of a daughter of Govind Ráv Gáikvád, and at his court he had been brought up after his father Khande Ráv's death. In 1797, however, when only seventeen years of age, he had left Baroda to return to his own country, where he was thwarted by an intriguing minister, Rang Ráv Durekar, and bullied by his two powerful neighbours Sindia and Holkar. At home, therefore, he was of little account, but abroad his good name and lineage commanded respect, and he was recognized as the one person round whom the members of the Gáikvád family discontented with Rávji Appáji and the British could rally. Sindia probably hoped that if he could succeed in driving out the Gáikvád the Peshvá would give him the farm of the Ahmadábád districts, and he expected to gain something by interfering in the family quarrel at Baroda. His minister Bháskar thoroughly alarmed his old friend Rávji Appáji, and Major Walker was sufficiently apprehensive of the mischief a war might occasion to demand assistance from the Bombay Government. A debt was owing to it of twelve lákhs, but, in order that Sindia might be paid, the second instalment was deferred, and this though it had been discovered that the Surat *atthávisi* could not be received as a pledge, for it had already been mortgaged

to Parbhudás, Sindia's agent at Broach, who at one time had advanced the State twenty lákhs, of which five were still due. Besides, the Surat *aṭhṭhāvisi* was not worth more than three and a half lákhs to the State, for a large portion of its revenue had been alienated to members of Rávji Apáji's family. In spite of the above considerations, the Bombay Government persuaded Parbhudás to pay Sindia, under guarantee that the debt should be discharged. And thus the Baroda State was probably saved from implication in a war which its damaged finances could not have borne.

In July 1803 Rávji Apáji died.¹ The old minister had perhaps rendered the Gáikvād a great service by calling in the British, and during his career he had shown no want of political skill or shiftiness: he had, beyond a doubt, assisted Govind Ráv in keeping his place on the *gadí* in difficult times. But it was he who had unscrupulously increased the Arab force; it was he who, when the State was perishing of poverty, had laboured to enrich himself and his family; he who in the crisis of the Arab mutiny had betrayed his fear and hesitation; he who by his extreme dilatoriness had delayed the pressing work of reform. With every allowance for his age and infirmities, it is impossible to give him any high praise. But the Bombay Government of that day owed him a great deal, and had pledged itself to maintain him and his heirs in the divánship; so it approved of the succession to that high post of his nephew Sítarám, who had been adopted as his son a few days before

his decease. Sítarám, however, was unworthy of the position, and it will soon be seen that he did much to injure the Baroda State.

Two little events may well be inserted here, though they interrupt the regular narrative. On the 23rd of September Rávji's old friend Yádhav Bháskar died in battle by the side of his master Sindia. A few months before Rávji's death, (2nd February 1803,) Gangádhara Pant Shástrí Patwardhan had been nominated confidential medium between the Resident and the darbár, on a salary of a hundred rupees.

In 1802, as we have seen, Sindia and Holkar were at war, and the latter's victory near Poona drove Báji Ráv to summon the English to his assistance. The price he paid was the treaty of Bassein, which not only affected himself, but indirectly Sindia, and for other reasons Rághoji Bhonslay, Rájá of Berár. It drove these two princes into making war with the English, a war which was marked by the tremendous defeats Sindia's armies suffered at Assaye and Argaum in the south, at Delhi, Agra, Láswarí in the north, and by the loss of many strong places and fortified towns, including in Gujarát Broach and Pávangaḍ.² While these events were taking place an incident had occurred in the war, between Holkar and Sindia—the war, that is, of 1802—which curiously influenced the fortunes of one of the Gáikvád family. Govind Ráv Gáikvád had a son named Fate Sing, whom he devoted to the service of the family god Khandobá, and sent to reside in the neighbourhood of Poona.

Here, late in 1802, he was captured by one of Holkar's officers, and as it was feared that he would be sent to Gujarát, nominally at the head of an army of Pindhárís to create a disturbance, the Gáikvád's government, with the approval of Major Walker, offered a sum of money for his ransom. Perhaps some such danger really existed, for in June 1803 Amír Khán, with a large army behind him and the young prince in his camp, approached to within a few miles of Songad, against which, however, a mere demonstration was made before the possible enemy retired without doing any material injury.

In August 1803 Fate Sing got away from Holkar's officer Amír Khán, and informed the Baroda darbár that he had purchased his freedom by a promise to pay fifty thousand rupees. He came back accompanied by a small body of Patháns, to whom also he had promised some indemnity, and entering the capital on the 2nd of October took up his residence with the Rání Gabenábái. At this time, by reason of the campaign with Sindia, Baroda was almost denuded of troops, and Major Walker distrusted these Patháns, fearing that they might be used to get up some disturbance.

They left Baroda in November, after some obscure quarrel between the men and one or both of their leaders, but Major Walker had not been mistaken in his suspicions of them. Soon after their departure it was discovered that Takhat Báí, the favourite wife of the Mahárájá, a woman of an intensely ambitious and intriguing character, who had gained

complete ascendancy over the feeble mind of Ānand Rāv, had planned to upset the government by seizing the persons of the Resident and of Sītārām with the aid of some cavalry she had suborned and of the Pathāns whom she had bribed. There were other people concerned in the plot, but they were men of low station and of indifferent character. An attempt was also made to implicate the poor Mahārājā, but this failed completely.

To pay off Fate Sing's ransom the Resident, by giving his guarantee, raised the sum of fifty thousand rupees, which were handed over to Sītārām, and the money, according to this worthy's statement, was paid to Holkar. Some time after, however, Major Walker to his disgust discovered that no such payment had been made, but that the minister had quietly appropriated or disbursed the sum during a time when Gangādhār Shāstrī's attendance at the palace had been dispensed with.

We have stated that by the end of 1803 Sindia's strength was broken, and Holkar, who had been disinclined to fight on the side of his rival when in power, now rashly entered into a contest with the government which had crushed his equal in one short year. The contest lasted two years, and during that time the Gāikvād troops coöperated with the British in Málwā. But the men were unwilling to proceed on a distant campaign, their leaders were not well affected towards their allies, and so disgraceful was the conduct of the little army that the Resident no longer hesitated to effect those reductions which had

long been considered necessary. No further mention need be made in this history of a passage which brings discredit on the State; it is more important to learn why the reform in the army had not taken place earlier.³

*Note*¹, p. 109.—By the 10th article of the treaty of 1802 the office of minister was guaranteed to Ráoji and his family. From the British he obtained the valuable village of Bhátá, in the Chauryási, and from the Gáikvád's government a *nemnák* of 40,000 Rupees. The old minister, not contented with this, was so liberal in his grants of land to the members of his family, especially to Sakharám Diváji, the Deshmúkh of Nausári, that not only was the *atthádvási* impoverished, but such a large portion of the country taken from the *jágirdár* of Kañi was filched away that the Bombay Government had to remonstrate.

*Note*², p. 110.—Broach was stormed on the 29th of August, Páwagañ capitulated on the 17th of September. The latter place was returned to Sindia after the peace of the 30th December 1803. Sindia at that time, among other matters, promised to abandon all claims he might have against the Gáikvád.

*Note*³, p. 113.—The Marquis Wellesley's career in India began on the 17th of May 1798. Lord Cornwallis succeeded him on the 30th of June 1805, and when he died on the 5th of October his plans were carried out by Sir George Barlow. Wellesley's strong rule was exchanged for the non-interference policy: a long series of wars was brought to an abrupt and indecorous close; the lull which ensued, however, only served to give the Peshvá, the Rájá of Nágpur, Holkar and Sindia time to recover their strength for the fresh struggle of 1817. The engagements with the Gáikvád ending with the definitive treaty of 1805 were ratified by the Marquis Wellesley, and the supplement to it was confirmed by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817. In the interval there were no treaties, but there were hatched the schemes of Ráji Ráv to regain his influence at Baroda.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MULÚKGIRÍ SYSTEM IN KÁTHIÁVÁÐ.

Major Walker was from the outset most anxious to reduce the expenditure of the army, as this reform would relieve the State of a heavy burden. But it was not only the war and the influence of the military class which hampered his action. He expected a large revenue from Káthiávád at the cost of keeping up the army there a little longer. To explain this sentence we must take up a whole portion of the history of the State which has been hitherto purposely omitted, and just as we must go back to gain a complete glance of our subject, so we shall have to push on our account beyond the year 1805.

The peninsula of Káthiávád, or, as it was called till the Maráthás came to it, Sauráshtrá, is for certain purposes divided into ten districts of unequal size: namely, Hallád, belonging to the Jháðeja tribe; Machu Kántá, in the possession of people who had in modern times come from Kachh; Jhálávád, or the country of the Jhálás; Gohelvád, of the Gohel Rájpúts; Und Surveya, the seat of the Rájpúts, who originally held the country; Bábríávád of the Bábríás; Sorath, inhabited by Kolís and Kúnbís, but containing also the possessions of the Musalmán Naváb of Junágad; Bárdá, the country of the Jetvá Rájpúts; Okhaman-

dal, given up to piratical tribes; and Káthiávád, the country of the Káthis. But these districts do not represent the political state of affairs in Káthiávád at any time of its history, for the peninsula was divided into at least 292 separate jurisdictions, not to count certain more numerous subdivisions, and its inhabitants, owing to constant petty wars, never cared to combine against any invader. Owing, however, to the situation and configuration of the peninsula, it had never been permanently subjugated by a king of Gujarát, or Musalmán sovereign or viceroy. On the other hand, it had frequently been plundered piecemeal, and this style of doing things exactly suited the Maráthás.

The Senápati's early raids in Gujarát had taken him to Káthiávád, and Dámáji Gáikvád lost no time in repairing thither. In the town of Loliyánáh is a temple which bears an inscription "Śhri Śhiva's foot-impress with assiduity Dámáji Gáikvád continually worships. S. 1794." (A.D. 1738.) Dámáji, however, did not go there to acquire territory, and yet he was one of the few Gáikváds who did do so: but it happened with him on this wise. A Saiad whose ancestors had received in Amrelí a grant of land from Muhammad Begáda, being much annoyed by the Káthis, called in to his assistance Dámáji Gáikvád. Soon after, the Láthi chief ceded to him Dám Nagar, formerly called Chobária, with ten dependent villages, as the marriage portion of his daughter, whom the Gáikvád espoused; and thus was laid the foundation of the territorial possessions of the House in Káthiávád,

that is, in Amreli and Dámnnagar. The Láthi chief was the descendant of Saramje, the second son of Jejak, the chief of the Gohel Rájpúts, who, when he was driven out of Márvád by the Ráthods in the 12th century, came to Kaṭhiávaḍ. Of the 384 villages the Láthi chief used to possess he only retains eleven. Dámáji also made conquests from the Naváb of Junágaḍ, but these were not increased by his successors. On the contrary, Fate Sing put his trust in the Naváb's kasbátis, and these betrayed him, so that he lost some of his possessions, which were regained by the Naváb. Territorial gain was not desired by the Maráthás, and in the whole peninsula seven settlements only were, as far as is known, permanently made:—Láthi, Amreli, and perhaps Koḍináḍ, by Dámáji; Seahnagar, called Marúd, by Sayáji Gáikváḍ, in A.D. 1765-66; Bhimkota, Thán, and Laktar by Bábáji, the brother of Rávji Ápáji, in A.D. 1805-6. In addition, however, to Dámáji's conquests and marriage portion, some of the lesser Káthi girásíás, by their desire to shelter themselves under the powerful Maráthá state, suffered themselves to be annexed; others were dispossessed

A.D. 1811-12.

by the Gáikváḍ's encroachment; so that of the original

292 states nearly 80 are now absorbed into the Amreli district. We shall elsewhere notice that in A.D. 1811 the parganá of Koḍináḍ was ceded to the Gáikváḍ by the Naváb of Junágaḍ, and that Okhamandal was given him by the Supplemental Treaty with the British dated the 6th of November 1817.

Though the Maráthás made no extensive conquests in Káthiávád, they extracted from it considerable revenues, and that by a strange system called *Mulkgiri*.

On their first invasion of the country of one of these petty chiefs of Káthiávád the Maráthás called on him to pay a sum of money as tribute, less in proportion to his resources than to his powers of resistance, for naturally the weakest went closest to the wall. At subsequent periods, not by any means yearly, an army was sent to collect a tribute equal to that first demanded. No remissions were ever made, but all arrears were strictly called into account. Sometimes the chief paid, and sometimes he did not; and it went to his honour and good name not to pay unless the army enforcing tribute was too strong to be resisted. If the chief agreed to discharge his tribute, or such a portion of it as satisfied the invaders, his territory was carefully protected. If he elected to fight before giving up his tribute, the Maráthás, whose invasions always took place at harvest time, systematically destroyed the crops, and, as firewood was scarce, burnt down the open villages and detached homesteads, and, in short, by plunder and devastation did all the harm they could to break the will of the stiff-necked tributary. Their army was, however, never, till the beginning of this century, strong enough to undertake the regular siege of a walled fort of average strength. It must also be conceded that the invading army confined their injuries to

the property, and did not molest the persons, of their tributaries. Still if we add to the misery entailed by this abominable system the facts that some of the chiefs of Káthiávád, preëminently the Naváb of Junágad, had mulúkgiris of their own, less extensive but more cruel than the grand one of the Maráthás, and that, even down to the time when the British interfered, the chiefs of the peninsula, whenever they could, retaliated on the Maráthás by incursions which occasionally extended to the neighbourhood of Ahmadábád and Baroda, we may realize the amount of mischief that can be done by the beast of prey instinct in men who are uncontrolled by knowledge.

There was, we have remarked, no tendency in the Maráthás to increase their territorial acquisitions, but there was a constant desire to multiply pecuniary demands. The revenues obtained from Káthiávád were of course reduced by one-half when Dámáji in A.D. 1752-3 was forced to partition Sorath, Hallád, Gohelvád, and Káthiávád, at which time the Peshvá's share in these districts was incorporated in the district of Ahmadábád. But, leaving this out of consideration, it is certain that at first the Gáikvád, say Dámáji, made his round with only three or four thousand predatory horse, and without guns or camp equipage, but that afterwards the mulúkgiri assumed some features of regularity, the expedition being undertaken with a certain number of *sibandi* and foot soldiery. The revenues derived from the peninsula came to be considered as a valu-

able addition to the income of the State, and every leader prided himself upon extracting something more out of the chieftains than his predecessor. In the most recent times this had been done by adding to the regular tribute those called Khárájati or Kheriyat, *i.e.* extraordinary, a device of Bábáji's; but the names of even the regular tributes are significative, for in addition to the "Turk Vera" for Musalmáns, and the "Bábi Vera" levied by the Naváb of Junágaḍ, there were the "Ghaním Vera" or collection by the plunderers, *i.e.* the Maráthás, the "Nálbandi" or compensation for shoeing horses, and the "Ghás Dáná" for hay and grain. Strictly speaking, this last was a tax paid by a village to the Gáikvád's soldiers who were passing on to some territory where they had the right to levy the mulúkgirí; it was paid though the village was properly subject to be taxed by the Peshvá; and the latter took no notice of the exaction, as he himself raised Ghás Dáná when his troops passed through Gáikvád territory. Such is the probable origin of this curious imposition, though in time the black mail grew to be regular tribute—a transformation particularly valuable to the Gáikvád, who, because his soldiers were more numerous in these parts, and because he frequently was the collector of tribute for the Peshvá, gained more by the Ghás Dáná than his suzerain.

The Gáikvád's mulúkgirí took cruel proportions under the commandant Sivrám some eight to five years before Bábáji surpassed even this astute

plunderer (1793-94), who first instituted the regular collection of arrears. A few instances only can be given of the manner in which the mulúkgirí was increased. From Samvat 1815 to Samvat 1860 the little state of Múrví was made to pay up sixty-five times, either to the Peshvá or the Gáikvád: during forty-six years nearly $22\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs were obtained, nearly eight of which were collected in the last nine years. The mulúkgirí of Hallád in Samvat 1841, 1842, 1843 amounted to 70,000 Rupees; Sivráam increased it to 80,000 Rupees, but Bábáji advanced it to 98,000 Rupees. The revenues exacted from Kotra were raised by Sivráam from a small sum to 17,000 Rupees, and Bábáji by endeavouring to keep up to this standard ruined the little State, so that the chief, unable to keep his engagement, had to give up his son and five Rájpúts as hostages. At first the Naváb of Junágad paid only 31,000 Rupees, but in A.D. 1785, when troubles ensued on his murder of the powerful Diván Umarji, he was forced to pay 50,000 Rupees; subsequently the exactions did not come up to 40,000 Rupees, but Bábáji settled for six years at an average rate of 75,000 to 76,000 Rupees. Bántvá, which was finally ruined by this system, was treated in precisely a similar manner. In short, at the time when Major Walker interfered matters had reached a climax; but it will be necessary to give a more particular account of the events immediately preceding his famous settlement.

In A.D. 1800, after the war with Ábá Shelukar, Govind Ráv Gáikvád farmed the Peshvá's district of Ahmadábád, and in this manner obtained the

mulúkgirí of the whole peninsula. The farm was not renewed in the year A.D. 1815, but up to that time the Gáikvád was at liberty to make his own terms with his and the Peshvá's tributaries. But Govind Ráv's death occurred soon after he had made his settlement with the Peshvá, and, as has been related, this event was followed by disturbances, one result of which was to put an end for a time to any mulúkgirí expedition. When, however, the British had firmly seated Ánand Ráv on the gadí, and pledged themselves to maintain Rávji Ápáji's Administration, the State once again felt itself strong enough to levy contributions in the peninsula. The policy of this Administration with regard to the mulúkgirí was not, however, identical with the schemes of the Resident, Major Walker. It is true that the latter desired to see the revenues of the bankrupt State supplied by a just amount of tribute which had fallen into arrears, and to this end he felt himself justified in maintaining a large number of Gáikvádi troops who were engaged in the collection of tribute, and whom otherwise, according to the treaty, he would and should have disbanded. But he did not wish to render the mulúkgirí a permanent system—on the contrary, he hoped by introducing into the peninsula a proportion of artillery, a detachment of Europeans, and two corps of native infantry, not only to assist the Gáikvád in recovering arrears, but to effect between him and the chieftains of Káthiávád a permanent settlement of the tribute due by the latter to the former, merciful to the one, just to the other,

binding on both, and founded on such a basis as would once for all do away with all necessity for military incursions, plundering and devastation. Less disinterestedly, but quite naturally, he also wished to extend British influence as far as Kachh, by taking into the protection of his government certain chieftains of Káthiávád who had entreated his aid against the exactions of Bhavnagar, Junágad, Navanagar, Gáikvád, and Peshvá. With these views he sent the Maulvi, Muhammad Ali, in July 1803 to Káthiávád to ascertain how far the different chiefs would submit to his arbitration; but, owing to the war in Central India, all action was suspended till May 1807.

Meanwhile the simpler task of collecting present and past tributes on behalf of the Gáikvád's government was energetically carried out by the minister's brother Bábáji. At first his difficulties were considerable, for our old friend the Jágirdár of Kadi Malhár Ráv Gáikvád, who had, after the loss of his country, been settled at Nadiád on a good allowance, evaded his keepers on the 4th December 1802 and fled to Kachh Bhúj, whence he had plotted to unite the chieftains of the peninsula against the Gáikvád. For some time Malhár Ráv merely intrigued to gain over the chiefs of Múrví, Dhrángádra, Junágad, and Pantli; while his relative Mukand Ráv, after losing Amrelí, strengthened his position at Dámnagar. But in June Malhár Ráv crossed over from Kachh to the peninsula, assembled some 5,000 troops, obtained aid from the Naváb of Junágad, and, advancing from Dhári, made an unsuccessful attempt to take Amrelí.

Then came Babáji's turn: by September 1803 he had either settled with or summoned to their allegiance the chieftains of Wánkáner, Rájkot, Gondal, Kotalat, Navanagar, Thán, Múrví, Mallia, Vadhlván, and other states, as well as the Káthi Bhúmiás. On the 11th October Viṭhobá Piláji (Divánji) surrounded the Dhárí fort. Malhár Ráv, however, escaped from there, but was overtaken and defeated by the same officer at Sabar Kandala, in Báabriávád; and finally, after attempting to make one more rally in the Pálitáná mountainous district, and to escape by the help of Vakth Sing, the Bhavnagar chief, who refused him his aid, he was taken prisoner. The unfortunate man was subsequently conveyed to Bombay, where he was kept a prisoner at large, no longer to disturb the Gáikvád's State.

Bábáji had still three powerful tributary chiefs to deal with, namely, Junágad, Jantpur, and Bhavnagar. The last of these in this very month of October compounded to pay three years' dues for all arrears, for at length the Resident had persuaded Bábáji to take a part of that whole which he could not obtain without fighting and trouble. Bábáji's first serious check occurred in December 1803, while besieging the fort of Vartoli, which belonged to the Naváb of Junágad, from whom he claimed two lákhs and a half. The Naváb was too proud to be treated like a Rájpút, and was scheming to unite the chiefs of Káthiávád under the leadership of Kánoji. Again at this time Múrví, Bikáner, and Joria Bandar applied to Major Walker to arbitrate, and the latter perhaps

hoped that Bábáji would pause for British assistance. But by March 1804 this officer came to terms with the Naváb, and proceeded to settle with the chief of Porbandar, whose refusal to pay was backed by the assistance of the Jám of Navanagar, who, after coming to terms with Bábáji, had again determined to resist him. A second time Bábáji was forced to ask for assistance from the British. Nevertheless Bábáji's first mulúkgirí ended as successfully as it had begun; and his second expedition, which commenced in April 1805, and of which the siege of Vadhván formed the chief feature, was attended with no reverses. The third great mulúkgirí was conducted, not by Bábáji, but his lieutenant Viṭhal Ráv Divánji, afterwards Sir Subhá of Káthiávád, and as it was the most lucrative, so also was it the harshest of the three expeditions.¹

Though Bábáji had not been materially aided by British arms, the Bombay Government rightly attributed the Gáikvádi officers' successes to the moral support offered by the British alliance. Besides this, the chiefs of the peninsula had asked for the protection and interference of the Bombay Government, and in any matter permanently affecting the revenues of the Baroda State that Government thought that it had the right to regulate the State action. When therefore, in August 1807, the combined forces of the British and the Gáikvád entered Káthiávád under the command of Colonel Walker and Bábáji, the former officer was instructed to invite the principal chiefs of the peninsula to meet him

and Bábáji at Gútú, in the Múrví taluká, in order that the terms of a *permanent settlement* of the Gáikvád's mulúkgirí claims might be discussed. By the 15th of May 1808 the settlement was effected. Colonel Walker's task had been a difficult one; for the Bhúmiás (lords of the soil) imagined that the British designed to oust the Gáikvád, and that their support of the settlement would bring them very easy terms, while the demands of the Baroda government were incompatible with the exhausted condition of Káthiávád. The permanent settlement brought in to the Gáikvád's government Rs. 9,79,882, a little more than Šivrám's collections in A.D. 1798, and somewhat less than Bábáji's first mulúkgirí.² Eventually this settlement of Colonel Walker's had to be modified, for the regular payment of the tributes imposed was beyond the power of the chiefs; but it formed the basis of all succeeding arrangements with Káthiávád, and bore this great and good result—that the whole land by degrees enjoyed order, peace, and quiet; no armies traversed the country to burn and pillage, and no extortions gave rise to retaliation. By degrees—much more gradual, it is true, than Colonel Walker hoped—an end was put to the custom of female infanticide among the Jhádejá and Jetvá Rájpúts; and by degrees the practice of piracy and wrecking among the small states on the sea-coast was discontinued.

The pacification of the numerous little states and various turbulent tribes of Káthiávád was not effected without some cost and bloodshed, as may easily

be imagined. The transition from constant turmoil to uninterrupted quiet was marked by a whole series of disturbances, and it cannot be denied that the British spared no pains to fulfil the great task they had undertaken. Colonel Walker's settlement was successfully carried out, mainly by reason of the vigorous manner in which he captured the strong fort of Kandorna, belonging to Porbandar. In 1808 Fate Muhammad, then powerful in Kachh, thought to attack Navanagar with the aid of the chief of Múrví, but British remonstrances made him pause. In that and the next year the Káthis in Amreli devastated Bábápúra and the kasba of Koḍináḍ, acting with the assistance of the chief of Khándhádár, a strong place which had to be taken. At the same time the piratical states in Okhamandal gave much trouble, and in particular the little fort of Posetra, which had to be taken and destroyed twice, in 1809 and 1811. The capture of the fort and city of Mállíá was an extraordinary achievement, attended with considerable loss of life to the British troops. In 1812 the Jám of Navanagar had to be brought to reason by the sight of a military demonstration made against his capital.

The year 1813 was one of the saddest in the annals of Káthiávád. Famine devastated the land, and pestilence followed the famine, so that it is thought that one-fourth of the inhabitants perished. The mulúkgiris of Bábáji had gone a good way towards impoverishing the State; Major Walker's settlement had perpetuated a high rate of tribute; the Gáikvád's officers had entered on a system of

encroachment, and it is said that now and after, Viṭhal Rāv Divánji, created Sir Subhā in 1811, though officiating in that capacity from the time of the settlement, introduced creatures of his own into the office of minister to each of the chiefs, and through their means preyed on the zamindárs. The consequence of all this was that a few years after 1813 it had to be recorded that "Káthiávád had declined from great prosperity to extreme misery."

One cause of this wretched state of things—a state Colonel Walker had certainly never contemplated as possible—was that the land was no longer under one government. In making a settlement between the Gáikvád and the chiefs of Káthiávád, the Bombay Government had omitted to consider that over a great part of the peninsula the Gáikvád exercised the mulúkgirí rights not for himself, but as the farmer of the Peshvá's revenue. Báji Rāv resented the settlement as an invasion of his rights, and when the lease of the Ahmadábád farm came to an end he introduced his own officers into the peninsula, and these soon made mischief. In consequence of their intrigues, the Khawás chiefs of Juriá and Amrán rebelled against the chief of Navanagar in 1814, and had to be reduced the next year by Colonel East. At the same time the Wághers of Okhamandal crossed the Rann, and with the aid of the Thákúr of Kúmária did much damage, till Govind Rāv Mámá drove them back, their ally the Thákúr losing his life and his fort.

From 1814-6 the interference of the Peshvá's

officers continued to confuse matters, none the less that they disseminated among the chiefs rumours that the rule of the Gáikvād had come to an end, and that the permanent settlement was void. Besides, when the lease of the Ahmadábád farm lapsed, the Gáikvād naturally withdrew half his troops, by whom the police work had hitherto been mainly done, the battalion of British soldiers being reserved for difficult operations; and the Peshvá would make no arrangements for the defence of the country. In spite, however, of this absence of support, and in order to get rid of the Peshvá's officers, the Bombay Government in 1816 consented to collect his tribute for him at the settlement rate, free of all cost and charges, though his jamábandi actually exceeded that of the Gáikvād by nearly three thousand rupees, amounting in fact to Rs. 5,62,959. Not long after this the difficulty of the Bombay Government terminated unexpectedly. By an arrangement made at Poona, and in order to avoid a complete rupture, Báji Ráv consented to subsidize British troops, and in part payment for these troops he assigned to the Honourable Company his rights in Káthiávād.

Fate Sing was hard pressed by the Bombay Government to surrender his portion of the mulúkgirí tributes in part payment of the increased subsidiary force entertained by the Gáikvād. He was firm in resisting the solicitation, but his brother Sayáji Ráv, soon after he had ascended the *gadí*, was persuaded by Mr. Elphinstone to leave the whole management of the country to the British. In other words, the

Gáikvád parted with his rights to interfere in Káthiá-vád, (except where he possessed full sovereignty,) on condition that his revenues arising from the tributes of the chiefs should be punctually paid him in accordance with the (revised) settlement of Major Walker. Thus the Gáikvád lost the power of increasing his territories in Káthiá-vád by the surreptitious methods employed by the Sir Súbhá, Viṭhal Ráv Divánji; he lost some semblance of suzerainty; but he gained the certainty of a large revenue obtained without expense and without the need of any military expeditions of the worst possible type.

A portion of the Gáikvád's troops employed in the Málwá war was settled in Káthiá-vád. By the 4th article of the treaty, 21st April 1805, "one battalion of these (the subsidiary) forces, or such proportion of them as the performance of the services may require, were to proceed to Káthiá-vád when there may be a real necessity for it," the Bombay Government remaining the judge of the degree of necessity. In other words, the British held themselves responsible for the maintenance of order in the land.

The revenues accruing to the Gáikvád from the Káthiá-vád States are given in Appendix VIII.

Note ¹, p. 124.—In Bábáji's three great mulákgíri expeditions there were collected, including arrears, over 51 lákhs.

Note ², p. 125.—This sum included the Peshvá's share collected by the Gáikvád as a portion of the Ahmadábád district farmed out to him. The share of each State is alluded to in page 128. In 1842 the Gaikvád's share amounted to Rs. 3,76,121, but the tribute from Bhavnagar had been ceded to the British in part payment for subsidised troops.

CHAPTER XV.

HOW SÍTÁRÁM FELL—FATE SING BECAME REGENT—AND
THE STATE WAS ALMOST FREED OF DEBT.

On the 2nd October 1804 the lease of the Ahmadábád farm was renewed for the last time and again nominally to Bhagwant Ráv Gáikvád for ten years at $4\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs per annum. The Peshvá, however, gave his consent most reluctantly, for already his jealousy of the British was greater than his fears of their power.

On the 21st April 1805 the "definitive treaty" was completed. It consolidated the subsidiary treaty of 1802 and was framed in terms consonant with the treaty of Bassein.

At this time the Gáikvád's government owed the Honourable Company Rs. 41,58,732, and the rassads of certain districts were granted till payment for the same should be made. The subsidiary force was raised to 3,000 infantry and a company of European artillery, and when, in the opinion of the British, circumstances needed it, a battalion was to be employed in Káthiávád. The territories ceded for the maintenance of these troops were to be worth Rs. 11,70,000, excluding the cession of the Chauriasi, Chickli, the Surat Chauth, and

Keda; they comprised Dholká valued at $4\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs, Nadiád $1\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs, Vijápúr and Mátar each 1 lách and 30 thousand Rupees, Monde 1 lách and 10 thousand Rupees. There were also ceded the Tappa of Kadí, valued at 25 thousand Rupees, the Khím Kathodore at 50 thousand Rupees. For the remaining lách as a temporary measure varats were granted on Káthiávád and afterwards the Gáikvád's government begged hard that money payment might be made for this amount instead of territorial cession, but in vain. The Gáikvád's government contended that many of these districts, especially Dholká, were worth much more than the valuation which was made on the average outcome of the preceding three years; while the Bombay Government complained that, owing to the deductions made for dúmálá and inámi villages, the full sum was anything but realized. Consequently in July 1808, (we anticipate events,) revenues worth 1,76,168 Rupees were ceded in addition to those mentioned: the Ghánsdáná of Bhávnagar worth 74,500 Rupees, a *varat* in Nadiád 50,000 Rupees, Sokhra Sádrá Maktej 1,450 Rupees, Haiderábád 1,000 Rupees. Certain dúmálá (alienated) villages were also resumed in Dholká worth 15,800 Rupees, in Modhera 900, in Matar 9,250, in Vijápúr 6,702, and in Rangar Ghát 3,750 Rupees, besides Súbhánji Pol's holding in Setva Mátar of 950 Rs., and his villages in pergana Modhera of 11,860 Rupees. It remains to note further, certain *exchanges* of territory just before the fall of the Peshvá.¹

The Resident, it has been related in the last chapter but one, had early resolved to effect a reform in the army, but had been restrained by a wish to see the completion of the *mulúkgiri* in *Káthiavád*, by means of which certain valuable arrears would be collected which might go towards the payment of the troops and the repayment of State debts. But in the matter of army reform and indeed of all reforms of expenditure he found himself thwarted by the minister *Sítarám*, whose conduct gave him and the Bombay Government such displeasure that it was resolved to deprive him of his great power, and the first step towards this end was to add to the number of the Commission who ruled on behalf of the *Maharájá*, the latter's younger brother *Fate Sing*, whom it was decided to proclaim Regent, *Prathinidhi* or *Mutálik*, a distinctly subordinate post with powers not greater than those of the Resident. Accordingly

A. D. 1806.

on the 3rd of April 1806, he was purchased back from the god *Khaṇḍobá* by the ceremony called *Túlá*, that is, he was weighed against silver and gold, four thousand five hundred rupees and a hundred Venetians, and the precious metals were distributed among the *Bráhmans*. The first *Dárbar* under the new Commission was held about the 3rd February 1807, and *Fate Sing* joined it in May.

The second step was to recall *Bábáji* from *Káthiavád* and by degrees to entrust him with the executive powers of which his nephew *Sítarám* was deprived. He was therefore appointed *Khasgívalá* on a salary

for himself and his office of 1,22,901 Rupees.

In the early portion of the year 1807, a partial

A. D. 1807.

reform of the army was actually begun. It has been

estimated by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, that previous to the advent of the British, the army cost the State sixty lákhs a year, and the hope of his Government was to reduce this sum to twelve lákhs on the entertainment of subsidised troops. Colonel Walker, after paying up their arrears, had discharged the Arabs of Baroda; but there he had stopped in his reforms because of the Málvā war, the great mulúkgirí of Bábáji, and the impossibility of paying off arrears. It would be too tedious to explain all about these wonderful arrears, which in 1804-5 amounted to more than thirty-eight and a half lákhs, and in 1807 rose to nearly seventy-three and a half lákhs, for it appears that when payment was made, arrears were paid at twelve annas in the rupee, and that many of the demands were so fraudulent that the Resident hoped to discharge the whole dues for thirty lákhs. Suffice it to say that a loan was raised in 1807, under the guarantee of the British, and all arrears paid off. Bábáji's mulúkgirí force had all this while cost the State enormous sums, though in itself it was little better than useless for real war, consisting though it did of 8 guns, over a thousand Arabs and Hindustánis, 7,200 foot and 5,240 horse &c., and costing twenty-seven lákhs a year, during the years 1803 and 1804, but more than that in 1806. In fact even after the reduction of

the Arabs of Baroda the yearly cost of the army had been nearly forty-three lákhs, but by the reform of 1807-8 it was reduced to little more than twenty-four lákhs, or according to some returns less than twenty-three lákhs—a wholesome reduction but still one which left much to perform. It was now determined to pay the army regularly twice a year, and by degrees to resume the landed *jaidád*, worth about five and a half lákhs, assigned to the principal officers.

The Diván Sítarám had opposed these healthy measures of reform as far as he could, and his conduct formed a contrast to that of Bábáji, under whose administration in 1807, peculations amounting to thirty lákhs had been discovered. A treacherous correspondence with one Háfiz Ghulám Hassan now came to light and the Minister's fall was determined.

In 1808, Colonel Walker decided that the different

A.D. 1808.

forts in the State should be placed under Killedárs, and

no longer be held by the Mámlatdárs; so he called on Bábáji to give up his charge of Visnagar and Vira, Sítarám that of Sankhedá, Patan, Ahmadábád, and other places. The former complied, but the latter, encouraged by his foolish friends and relatives Sakhárám and Kákáji, and by his mutinous sibandi troops, refused to do so till he had been paid sixteen lákhs of arrears. Fresh troops were brought up from Bombay, for it seemed likely that the employment of force would be required, but finally matters were settled by the payment through the Bombay Government of eight lákhs to the sibandi and three

to Sítarám. He himself declined to pay what he owed the State, for he justly remarked, "what he had devoured was irrecoverable." However the forts were surrendered, and in March 1809 the Diván's three págás were taken from him, while he himself was placed under restraint on his refusal to proceed to the Máhi Kántá, lest he should countenance the threatened rising of his Bárgírs in Baroda, of whom five hundred were dismissed: his *daíta* or salary of one and a half lákhs was also stopped, and his relatives sent to a distance. Sakhárám went to Dhár at the request of the Rání Gahena Báí, there to support the Rání's niece Miná Báí, who, as widow of the unfortunate Ánand Ráv, was fighting for her infant son against Morári Ráv, the illegitimate offspring of Yeshvánt Ráv Powár. Sakhárám died without bringing his schemes to a successful issue, and the task was continued by another Gáikvádi officer connected with the Diván's family named Bápu Rághunáth.² But later we find the little State at the mercy of the wretch who had aided and tormented Kánoji—Muhammad Ábúd, the lame Arab. Thus was completed the partial reform of the army, and the disgrace of Sítarám. The latter now became the bitter enemy of the British and of the party in Baroda attached to the British, of whom the acknowledged head was Gangádhār Shástrí, and we shall see how much this man did to thwart and vex his opponents:

On the 28th November 1810 Bábáji Ápáji died,

A.D. 1810.

"exhorting Fate Sing (in noble and pathetic language)

to remember all that the British alliance had done for him.”⁵ His son Viṭhal Rāv Bháu succeeded him, and held the post for two years, but was unable to carry on the work. Room was accordingly made for Gangádhār Shástrī, who in 1813 obtained the title of Mutálik and a salary of sixty thousand Rupees. Viṭhal Rāv Divánji, who had played an active part in the Kadī war and the great mulúkgiris, was confirmed as Sir Subhá of Káthiáváḍ.

By the 12th (or 29th) of February 1812 the Gáikváḍ government, thanks to the
A.D. 1812. firm counsels of Colonel

Walker and of Captain Carnac, his worthy successor and for some time *locum tenens*,⁶ had liquidated the whole of its enormous debt to the Honourable Company. The Bombay Government had then almost arrived at the determination to abandon all active interference with the State, when a series of untoward events occurred which long postponed this desirable policy.

For the expenses of the troops which had not been paid by cession of territory, for the payment of arrears to the mutinous Arabs of Baroda, for the payment of Sindia's claims on the Ahmadábád farm, to ransom Fate Sing, to pay off arrears due to the army, for the maintenance of Malhár Rāv, the British had advanced at one time and another 67,08,034 Rupees, and now the whole sum had been paid off.

But as one of the most notable things in the history of this State is the manner in which it got clear of its financial difficulties, a short account of the pro-

cess must be given, however tedious it may prove.

Before the British stepped in, the revenues of the State had amounted to fifty-five or fifty-seven lákhs, and for some time the maintenance of the army had been valued at something near sixty lákhs, the total expenditure at about eighty-three lákhs, that is, the State expenses were supposed to exceed its receipts by nearly thirty lákhs. Nothing more hopeless can be conceived than the state of this country, mortgaged as it was all over to creditors, while the sovereign and his representatives were alienating large and valuable districts to relatives or favourites. The Baroda State was afterwards rescued from its miserable condition when its rulers had already become indifferent through despair, not in quiet times, for the task would then have been an easy one to a great power, but in a crisis which was upsetting kingdoms throughout the continent.

Besides advancing money itself, the Honourable Company obtained good terms for the State by the baháñdari system, which has already been described, that is, it stood security to certain bankers that their advances should be repaid, advances which amounted at one time to 88,48,510 Rupees. In addition to the debts for the repayment of which the Honourable Company stood security, there were sums owing to shroffs, especially to Hari Bhakti, exceeding thirty-one lákhs.

A brief statement may now be given of the plan adopted to get rid of these encumbrances. It rested naturally on the most rigid economy, by means of

which the expenditure was curtailed so that it fell far below the yearly receipts, instead of exceeding them by thirty lákhs. At first, however, very slow way was made, as the country was heavily mortgaged, and subsequently for some time the wars of Sindia, the Peshvá and Holkar necessitated a high rate of expenditure. In 1801-2, excluding mulúkgirí collections, but including the new acquisitions of Kádí, Dehgaum, &c., the total receipts exceeded fifty-eight lákhs, and the total disbursements were over fifty-four and a half lákhs. But from the fifty-eight lákhs must be deducted the value of territories bestowed in inám or ceded for troops, valued at over fourteen lákhs, and temporary alienations to creditors of about nineteen lákhs, so that the deficits for that year were nearly twenty-eight lákhs, and in the following year (1802-3) nearly twenty-four lákhs.

After this time matters began to improve, and towards the end of 1808 the debt to the Honourable Company fell short of 23 lákhs, and that to guaranteed creditors but little exceeded $12\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs. In order to reduce all other claims Colonel Walker in 1807-8 raised a large loan with which to wipe out long outstanding debts, and at the same time adopted the strange financial step "of raising annual loans in aid of the government which operated by appropriating the disposable revenue of the year to discharge the loan of the year preceding, while a new loan was raised to discharge the establishments of that year which had partially fallen into arrears." The loan thus raised in 1807-8 exceeded $71\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs,

and thus at the end of 1808 the total debts of the State, including the sums due to the Honorable Company and the guaranteed creditors, amounted to Rs. 1,55,98,339. Between this time and 1811-12 fresh loans were yearly raised exceeding 2,05,32,000 Rupees, so that the State before the end of that period owed over Rs. 3,61,31,000; but during that period it also liquidated year by year over Rs. 3,22,14,000. Thus the entire debt of the State in 1812 fell short of the moderate sum of 28 lákhs.

This liquidation was possible, because by rigid restraint the disbursements were made to fall short of the receipts; in 1808-9 by nearly 16 lákhs and the next year by nearly 19 lákhs, the third by nearly 22½ lákhs, the next by over 19½ lákhs. During that time, too, while the disbursements had slowly increased from 50 to 51½ lákhs, the gross revenues had risen from 66½ to 72½ and 70 lákhs.

A real effort had been made and a substantial reward followed it, but unfortunately, as we shall see later on, after this time a change for the worse took place, and gradually the State once again got into difficulties. Still the period of danger had been successfully passed, and the credit therefore should not be denied to Colonel Walker and his assistant Gangádhār Shástrí.

The first Resident's conception of economy may be realized by contemplating the sums which they fixed for the different departments and for the salaries of the chief officers of the State. For example, the civil establishment cost Rs. 2,75,000, but it soon

rose to nearly 4 lákhs; the Gáikvád's family was allowed Rs. 4,23,000; the revenue charges, religious expenses, and pensions were to be kept within $5\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs. The curious thing is that these sums were not much exceeded till after the year 1812, and that any infringement of the rule laid down was strictly noticed, whoever the faulty one might be. When Fate Sing increased his *págá* he was reprovved and ordered to diminish it; when Sítarám tried to evade the arrangements of the Resident he was disgraced. But it was not merely by diminishing expenditure that the reform was carried out; it was also by *altering the method of collecting revenue*, by detecting and to some extent abolishing *peculation*, and by doing away with *farmers of revenue*.

Note ¹, p. 181.—It is difficult to strike a true balance of the loss and gain which befell the Gáikvád's government during the first twenty years of this century. A foreign army was subsidised, and the fault does not lie with the Bombay Government that the military expenditure was not more rapidly reduced. The revenues from Káthiavád were fixed once for all as were those from other small states, and therefore they were no longer subject to increase, but on the other hand they were regularly paid. The Gáikvád did not partake in any territorial gain for the expensive if inefficient aid he gave in the Málvá war. But when the Peshvá was dispossessed of his portion of Gujarát he was absolved from all payment of tribute, while a clean sweep was made of outstanding accounts between Peshvá and Gáikvád, which, if the former had had the power, he would have used to crush his old rival. By the support of the British he was enabled to levy large arrears from Káthiavád, while by their prompt and constant assistance in lending money and regulating expenditure, the State was saved from terrible financial embarrassments. A Resident of Baroda has estimated the territorial

acquisitions of the Gáikvād between 1801-1820 thus : Kaḍi worth 5½ lákhs; Kapaḍwanj 52,000Rs.; Dehganm 1,87,000 Rs.; 2nd, Sankheda 1 lákh; 3rd, Kodinād worth 80,000 Rs., and for a time tribute from Navanagar and Suriabandar, worth 1 lákh; 4th, Bet and Okhamandal 25,000 Rs. He also estimates the increase of tribute from Káthiávād at 1,77,000 Rs., Dhárfi 23,000 Rs., and of tribute from Páhlarpúr at 25,000 Rs., with the never regularly paid gháns-dana of Cāmbay at 5,000 Rs. On the whole therefore the British alliance was favourable to the Baroda State, even if it be not considered that henceforth peace was ensured to it.

Note ², p. 135.—It was naturally family interest which prompted the Rání Gahena Bái to interfere in the dissensions at Dhár. But, later on, it can scarcely be doubted that the Gáikvād pressed hard on the little State for payment for services done. If the British had not interfered, perhaps the little Powár Prince would have been swallowed up by his cousin of Baroda.

Note ³, p. 136.—The deathbed scene of the veteran soldier and statesman addressing the young Regent is most affecting.

Note ⁴, p. 136.—Colonel Walker left Baroda on sick leave early in 1809. He returned for a short time, but finally left India in 1810. Colonel Walker made so great a name for himself, that it would be superfluous in this short history to give him the praise that is his due.

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW TWO PARTIES WERE FORMED IN BARODA, AND HOW
THE STATE WAS AFFECTED BY THE STRUGGLE
BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE PESHVÁ—THE
MURDER OF GANGÁDHAR SHÁSTRÍ.

We noticed that when the Gáikvád's government had cleared itself of its debts to the Honourable Company, the Bombay Government expressed a desire to retire from its close interference with the affairs of the State, but was prevented from doing so by a series of untoward events.

Kánoji had been permitted to return to the Baroda State and to dwell at Pádra, a village not far distant from the capital, where not many years ago Malhár Ráv Gáikvád was long kept a State prisoner. In 1812 this restless intriguer made his last attempt to disturb the government. The Rání Takhat Bái too once more began to make mischief and abetted his plans, but the prime mover was the Jám Jesáji of Navanagar, who had got into trouble with the Bri-

A. D. 1812.

tish, and wished to divert their attention by creating a disturbance in Gujarát. He accordingly promised Kánoji his assistance in money and arms, and claimed for a reward, in case of success, territories near Vjíápúr; but when he had come to terms with the British he quickly abandoned his foolish partner.

Sítarám knew of the plot, but he also recognized its futility, and the Rání Gahena Báí would have nothing to say to it. The main lines of the conspiracy were these:—Mírkhán Pathán's services and those of troops from Málvá and Gujarát were to be purchased with the Jám's money; Rámdín Pathán was to assist from Lunáwádá, Mahommad Ábúd from Dhár; the Kolís of Gujarát could not be got to rise, but Jamadár Umár with one thousand original Arabs and the powerful thánádár Abdúl Rahimán promised their help, and the Kolís on the Mahí had none of the scruples of their brethren. At Pádra Kánoji had ready to move 125 horse and 150 foot, and he expected some Arabs from Nawanagar. The Resident was in Káthiávád, and the capital was denuded of troops: the Kolís were to attack the minister's house, the Arabs the Residency and the neighbouring house of the Shástrí: Takhat Báí was to open a wicket-gate which would give admittance into the citadel to Kánoji and his followers. But by degrees all the details of the plot had become known at the Residency, and a few days before the attempt to seize the capital was to be made, Captain Ballantine, with a small force, surrounded Pádra and arrested Kánoji, when the whole affair came to nothing. A short time after, Kánoji was transported to Surat, then to Bombay, and finally to Madras, whence he never returned. A strict watch was henceforth kept on the Rání Takhat Báí: she was even confined for a time and no trust was placed in her oaths to the Shástrí, sworn over the túlsí plant,

or in the efficiency of her bard ; but she was spared for the sake of the poor Maharájá, who was very fond of her. Still she resented the indignity she was put to, and soon again plotted, this time with Sítarám, to undo the Shástrí ; and Sítarám was ready to meet her half-way, because he hoped to regain his old post by crushing the British party at Baroda through the aid of the Peshvá Báji Ráv.

Between the latter and the British matters were approaching a crisis. It is a matter of general history that Báji Ráv by the treaty of Bassein lost the position the Peshvá had once held of head to a confederacy of Maráthá princes, and that some years later his policy was dictated by a wish to recover his lost authority. Passing by the general question, let us therefore inquire what his policy was with regard to the Gáikvád. Its ruling motive was the desire of once more acquiring the allegiance of this prince, with whom he could no longer correspond directly, but only through the medium of the Resident at his court, a prince who still paid him a fixed sum which once represented a tribute, but who no longer assisted him with troops, a prince who still had to pay him a nazaráná after investiture, but not one fixed according to his wishes, while the succession could no longer be determined by the Poona Court. To regain his authority he had two weapons at hand. In 1814 the lease of the Ahmadábád farm would expire, and by not renewing it he would be enabled to interfere with the administration of the Gáikvád in a thousand ways ; besides, as has been remarked in the

chapter on the Mulúkgirí, his rights in Káthiavád had been seriously invaded by the Settlement and in other ways, and he had an insult to avenge. Secondly, the Peshvá had certain money claims on the Gáikvád which had not been settled, and by using these carefully he might induce that prince to supplicate him to return to his old relations with the Baroda State.

Baroda itself was divided into two parties; the one relied on the British alliance and was headed by Gangádhār Shástrí; the other, which may in a sense be termed the patriotic party, was headed by the disgraced Diván Sítúrám and the Rání Takhat Bái, and behind these there was no doubt a strong party in the Palace. As the political contest grew fiercer, the Mahárájá, if he can be called a responsible person and not the mere tool of his favourite Rání, expressed a wish to side with the Peshvá, and the latter openly asserted that he (Ánand Ráv) was unrighteously deprived of power by the British because he was not friendly disposed to them. During the first years of his rule as Regent, Fate Sing had been most obedient to the Shástrí's advice; but of late he had shown signs of restiveness, and a desire to surrender himself to loose pleasures and foolish friends, which had alarmed the Resident, and had led him to advise the Bombay Government not to abandon for some time that strict supervision which they half wished to relinquish. Still during the Shástrí's embassy to Poona, Fate Sing, though closely watched, showed no signs of any feeling but one consonant with the success of the mission. For certain reasons,

however, the Bombay Government did not give him the support he thought that he had the right to expect, and he might on this account have been disappointed. But assuredly later on, however great his grief and rage at the foul murder of his servant, the influence of a strong party in the Palace, and probably the counsels of Gahena Báí, influenced his subsequent policy. If Takhat Báí was moved by hatred, Sítárám was so by ambition: for Báji Ráv, as time went on, laid claim to the old right, as he termed it, of appointing the Diván of Baroda, and Sítárám was bidding for the post.

Sítárám's party, or rather Sítárám himself, had agents both at Poona and Bombay: in the former place Govind Ráv, Bandoji Gáikvád, and Bhagvant Ráv, the illegitimate son of the late Mahárájá, who was furnished with means by the Rání Gahena Báí, in the latter Háfiz Muhammad Dáud and Mahipat Ráv, Govind Ráv's brother-in-law, who corresponded with the ex-minister through Hari Bhakti in Baroda, and obtained for him the closest kept secrets of the Bombay Secretariat. In Baroda itself Sítárám would repair to Takhat Báí by night in disguise, and concert with her how to move the Mahárájá; and poor Ánand Ráv was at one time persuaded to make preparations for starting to Poona, preparations which, it is needless to say, were speedily stopped by the Resident at Fate Sing's request. Above all the Shástrí feared the Poona Resident's head clerk, Kharsedji Shet Modí, to whom he believed the farm of Ahmadábád was really promised,

though nominally it was to be granted to Vithal Narsing, *alias* Trimbakji Dánglia.

A vakíl of Fate Sing named Bápu Mairál having failed to bring Báji Ráv to

A. D. 1814.

terms, Gangádhār Shastrí

proceeded in 1814, under a British safeguard, on a mission to Poona, accompanied by a large and expensive retinue, with the twofold object of obtaining the renewal of the farm and the settlement of the money claims. The first object was from the outset beyond obtainment, for the Peshvá, after what had passed, naturally feared lest a third renewal would lead to the belief that the districts had been alienated for money payment. But the claims, what were they? A full answer would take us back through the whole history of the Gáikvads from the battle at Dhodap to the arrival of the British. To be brief, however, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Resident at Poona in A.D. 1816, proved that the tribute of the Gáikvád to the Peshvá had been instituted fifty-three years, during forty-three of which it had not fluctuated—that is, of the first thirty-three years tribute had been paid for twenty-one and remitted for ten, chiefly the time when Fate Sing was being leniently treated to induce him not to side with the British (the records for two years had been lost or destroyed), and the same remark applied to the remission for service. In A.D. 1798 a settlement had been arrived at, when it was found that during the previous years Rs. 4,02,51,934 had become due, and that Rs. 2,96,98,644 had been paid, while Rs. 65,70,500 had been remitted, so that the residue then

due amounted to Rs. 39,82,789. After this year the Gáikvād never paid the Peshvá a farthing, and the Peshvá contended that he should every year have received as tribute Rs. 7,79,000, and as remission for service Rs. 6,75,000, or for eighteen years a total of Rs. 2,61,72,000. Fate Sing, on the other hand, denied that he should pay anything for remission of service, because the British, and not the Peshvá, now defended him, and it was the prince's troops he had subsidized. But Gangúldhar Shástrí acknowledged the justice of these claims, and, had the fall of the Peshvá not intervened, probably they would have been enforced. Further, the Peshvá asked for tribute for the territories won from the Bábi at one lách a year for fifty years, i. e. half a crore. Fate Sing contended that the expense of keeping the *abáái* or tranquillity of this *pakhá* Mewássi country had not been considered, and that the Bábi Maháls had been ceded to him once and for all—a statement which was probably true, as it was supported by signed agreements. Finally the Peshvá had received no nazaráná at the accession of Anand Ráv, and for this he demanded the sum recovered from Govind Ráv, namely, Rupees 56,38,001, the largest nazaráná ever paid by a Gáikvād. Fate Sing pleaded the poverty of the State, which had always hitherto been taken into consideration. There were other miscellaneous demands, varying from half a crore to three elephants and five horses. In short the Peshvá's demands exceeded four and a half crores. But, strange to relate, Fate Sing had counter-claims of the same magnitude, of which the greatest and

most presentable was his share in the revenues of Broach, transferred against his will from the Gáikvád to the British, and from them to Sindia, and valued by him at five and a half lákhs per annum. For the war, too, against Abá Shelúkar, undertaken at the Peshvá's bidding, he demanded Rs. 1,65,000. The Peshvá opposed to the latter claim that the Gáikvád had been sufficiently recompensed by the long tenure of the Ahmadábád farm, but to the former claim he had less to say, for in extant treaties he had granted that the transfer of Broach was a questionable act.

The sums at stake were enormous, and a decision entirely adverse to the Gáikvád would have ruined his State just as it was emerging out of its difficulties. No doubt it was hoped that the British Government would not allow its ally and *protegé* to suffer, and on this hope Fate Sing strongly relied; for in the event of the contracting parties not settling, the arbitration by express stipulation in the treaty of Bassein in 1805, rested with this Government. But the British were most unwilling to interfere, for at this period there was an intense reluctance to drive Báji Ráv to too great straits, so every inducement was held out to the Peshvá and Gáikvád to arrange the matter amicably.

Gangúdhār Shástrí hoped to satisfy all the Peshvá's claims by the payment of 50 lákhs, and to persuade him to renew the Ahmadábád farm for five years at the greatly increased rate of 8 lákhs a year. The Peshvá never seriously entered into the latter question, and in October the farm was actually leased to

Trimbakji Dangliá. During this the early stage of the discussion, he not only showed the greatest detestation of the Shástrí, but pretended to consider that Sítarám should be restored ; and in the month of September the ex-minister was kept in confinement at Baroda, that he might no longer frustrate the Shástrí's policy by offers to outbid him—offers made to the Peshvá through his emissary Bandoji. The latter worthy Mr. Elphinstone, in October, requested Báji Ráv to dismiss together with Bhagvant Ráv, or else to let the Shástrí return. Indeed Gangádhar Shástrí himself had made some preparations for departure, when of a sudden Báji Ráv changed his tactics. He entered into a secret negotiation with the emissary, (who had gained Mr. Elphinstone's cordial sanction to his entertaining it), and while obtaining his consent to pay up thirty-nine lákhs of arrears with interest, he pretended to wish to settle all other claims for one crore of rupees, and ten lákhs a year as tribute for the future. The Shástrí offered in lieu of this to surrender territory worth seven lákhs a year, and, (May 1815,) thinking that Fate Sing would not accede to this, he begged Mr. Elphinstone to persuade him to do so.

The wily Peshvá played on the vanity of Gangádhar Shástrí. He appeared to consider the question of territorial cession, professed great admiration for the emissary's talents, and proposed that his son should marry his (the Peshvá's) wife's sister ; more, that he should leave Fate Sing to become diván at Poona. The

August 1815.

poor Shástrí at first agreed to the marriage scheme, and preparations for its celebration at Násik were well advanced, when he began to draw back in some alarm at not hearing from Fate Sing, and gave ad-

A.D. 1815.

ditional offence by refusing to allow his wife to visit the

Peshvá's palace, usually the scene of the greatest debauchery. Vengeance was delayed till the night of the 14th July. Contrary to his friend Bápu Mairál's advice, he had gone almost unaccompanied to Pañdharpúr, where Báji Ráv in the evening talked to him in the most friendly way. Bápu Mairál was not with him; but, without his knowing it, Bandoji, Sítarám's agent, was in the neighbourhood, surrounded by armed followers among whom he had scattered money, and in close consultation with Trimbakji; and the Shástrí at this very time had with him a letter in which Bandoji informed the Ráni Takhat Bái that under certain contingencies "the Shástrí will never more look that way," *i.e.* Baroda way. At night Trimbakji Dangliá pressed him to attend a ceremony at the temple, and, after in vain pleading many excuses for not going, the Shástrí went. On his return, almost unaccompanied, he was set upon by four or five persons in disguise, to whom it was thought that he was pointed out by Sítarám's agents, and almost cut to pieces.¹

It is immaterial here to tell with what difficulty Bápu Mairál and the Shástrí's family rescued themselves from the dangerous position they were in; how Trimbakji made no real attempt to discover the

murderers; how Báji Ráv, whom the Resident, for political reasons, would not accuse of being an accomplice in the matter, wavered between a desire to screen his favourite and the fear of breaking with the British. Finally Trimbakji was surrendered and imprisoned at Tháná, and Bhagvant Ráv and Bandoji were sent to Fate Sing (November 1815).

When the news of the murder reached Fate Sing, he was for a time or appeared to be beside himself with rage and grief, and to console the Shástrí's family, appointed to the late minister's post his youngest son Bhímá Shankar, though the work was carried on by Yeshvant Ráv Dádá. But in the Palace a strong party behaved as if a great triumph had been gained: even poor Ánand Ráv was at this time writing to Bandoji to get the measure of Sítárám's elevation to the post carried out, adding, "You are faithful to the Sarkár, you did what was very right," and this when the latter had informed Kákáji, Sítárám's relative, "that the business here has been completed; do you commence the duties of Diván." And the ex-minister was supported by both the Ránís Gahena Báí and Takhat Báí, while from Dhár his servant Bápu Ragonáth held himself ready to invade Gujárát if disturbances arose. And from the state of things at Ahmadábád it seemed likely that such would be the case, for the surrender of the farm to Báji Ráv had been followed by confusion and lawlessness both in northern Gujárát and in Káthiávád. The Baroda Resident urged Fate Sing to proceed against Sítárám, but the latter was hard

to persuade, perhaps, as has been remarked, because he stood alone in the palace. On the 20th September, however, the ex-minister was confined to his house under a guard of English troops, and in April 1816

A. D. 1816. he was deported to Bombay, not to appear again

on the scene for some years.

No serious charge, however, was brought against Fate Sing, none more serious than that of levity natural to youth. The old councillors had all disappeared, and Bechar Mankedás was a poor substitute who lent the prince money to satisfy his luxurious pleasures. So (February 1816) Dhákji Dádáji was appointed as native agent of the Resident, but at first the prince regarded him with little favour. Fate Sing quarrelled with Takhat Báí, increased the expenditure on the army, refused for some time to let the Resident see the State accounts, took money to settle matters in a way contrary to the evident interests of the State—in short, so behaved that the Bombay Government for the time gave up the project of abandoning its direct supervision of the State, as it had been its real intention to do, and for a time entertained with pleasure the thought that Fate Sing was about to make a proposal of retiring to Benares.

Note ¹, p. 151.—Mr. Mill, in his *History of India*, writes, "The truth seems to have been that Bandoji was the principal instrument of the crime, but that he acted with the concurrence of the Peshvá and the co-operation of Trimbak. The share of Bandoji in the murder was not doubted at Baroda." The part played by

the Baroda Court in the assassination of the Shástrí has been elsewhere overlooked or understated. This in a measure is owing to the exclusive attention paid to the writings of Mr. Elphinstone, whose assistant Mr. Grant Duff was.

It is not necessary to waste words in praise of the Shástrí. He was Colonel Walker's right hand man; all the economical reforms in the State were either originated or carried out by him; it was owing mainly to him that Baroda was not handed over to the Peshvá by Sítarám. To the Shástrí's talents and uprightness not only his life testified but his death. Neither at Baroda nor at Poona could they move this stumbling-block but in one dark way.

A few details relating to the Shástrí may here be added. His father, Krishna Patwardhan, obtained from Govind Ráv Gáikvád (1794) the inám village of Wanj as a reward for influencing through his connection with the Fadke family, the Peshvá to grant that prince his killat of Maharája. Gangádhara is said to have early distinguished himself in the Deccan, and to have been so strongly recommended to Major Walker by Mir Kehmál-ud-din that the former took him to Baroda as his head clerk or agent. Besides, the Shástrí's great literary talents were well known to Governor Duncan. For his services as Native Agent the British bestowed on him the inám village of Dindoli, and from the Gáikvád he got three small villages. Captain Carnac fully believed in the Shástrí's perfect uprightness, and found an argument in his favour from the admissions made in his celebrated "will" that he had received (not dishonestly but to conform to custom) certain presents, notably one from Bábáji, which he wished to restore at his death. The head of the family is Mr. Balvant Ráv Vináyek Shástrí, whose father was not destitute of the literary abilities which distinguished his ancestor.



A.D. 1817.]

CHAPTER XVII.

EXCHANGE OF GÁIKVÁD FOR BRITISH TERRITORY—THE
REGENT FATE SING DIES, AND HIS YOUNGER BRO-
THER, SAYAJI RÁV, TAKES HIS PLACE.

Matters were meanwhile progressing at Poona. The murder of the Shástrí was, the Governor General decided, not to influence the claims on the Gáikvád, though Fate Sing argued that it should, and Báji Ráv clamoured for much higher terms than the cession of territory worth seven lákhs, for the discussion had been running five years and no payment of tribute had meanwhile been made. But a quarrel, and then a war, was now to take place, which should sweep away both the claimant and his demands.

On the 12th September 1816, Trimbakji Dangliá escaped from his prison at Tháná, and it was soon after discovered that Báji Ráv was not only assisting him with money to levy troops, but was concerting with Holkar, Sindia, the Rájá of Nágpúr, and others how to overthrow the British, and that his emissary to Sindia's court was Govind Ráv Gáikvád. Forced to resort to extremities, the Resident demanded the delivery of Trimbakji and the surrender of three hill forts; and by the 10th May 1817, the Peshvá, who had up to that time prosecuted his preparations for

war, agreed to do so.¹ On the 13th May Mr. Elphinstone met Moro Dikshít and Báláji Lakshumán, who appeared for the Peshvá, and with them drew up a treaty by which, among other matters, (Article 5), after surrendering all future claims on the Gáikvád, Báji Ráv agreed to accept four lákhs a year as an equivalent for all past claims (Article 7), ceded his tributes in Káthiavád to the British, and (Article 15), renewed to the Gáikvád in perpetuity his farm of Ahmadábád (without the peninsula) for the annual sum which had hitherto been paid for it in its entirety, *i.e.* four and a half lákhs per annum. Finally all the rights of the Peshvá in Gujarát except over Ahmadábád, Úlpád, and the annual dues from the Gáikvád were ceded to the British. This comprised the cession of Jambúsar, Amod, Desbora, Dabhái, Bahádarpúra, and Sávali. The Gáikvád was now once for all recognized (Article 4) to be an independent prince who need not pay tribute, commutation for service, or nazaráná. Evidently the Gáikvád had obtained enormous gains as compensation, according to Mr. Elphinstone, "for the murder of his prime minister."

On the 25th June 1817, the sanad for the perpetual lease of the Ahmadábád farm was made out (and carried into effect within a month), but on the same day the Bombay Government considered whether the Gáikvád government should not now be called on to maintain an additional subsidy of two regiments of cavalry and a battalion of infantry at the cost of a cession of the Gáikvád's tribute in Káthiavád, as the

State army, though it cost forty-two lákhs a year, (for the army expenditure had again mounted to that enormous sum,) was practically of little use. Fate Sing agreed to increase the subsidized force, but not at

Supplement to Definitive Treaty, 6th Nov. 1817.

the cost of a surrender of his dues in Káthiavád, and he declined to diminish the number of his troops, as he was requested to do, to twelve thousand men; though in order to pay the Peshvá his four lákhs a year he would endeavour to reduce the expenditure by that amount. The perpetual farm of the Ahmadábád districts was accordingly made over to the British for the maintenance of the increased subsidy on the condition that they should pay the Peshvá the yearly sum of four and a half lákhs, and as the territory was valued at Rs. 17,11,969, the net outcome was nearly 12,62,000 Rs.²

Fate Sing was also willing to exchange some of his own territory for some lately ceded to the British by Báji Ráv. He accordingly ceded his share in the Ahmadábád districts, (excepting the Haveli, the Dascurai and the Máhi Kánthá tributes,) valued at Rs. 1,65,313, and such a portion of Petlád as made up a sum of Rs. 2,07,918. He acquired territories of the same value, Dabhai, Bahádarpúr and Sávali. These exchanges consolidated the possessions of the British in North Gujarát, for on the 19th September the Peshvá notified to the Gáikvad that he ceded in full all his rights over the Ahmadábád districts to the

Honourable Company. That is, instead of their paying him $4\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs per annum, the Peshvá's subsidized force was increased by the British.

The first exchange of territory was freely made, and tended, if anything, to the direct advantage of the Gáikvád, for some (one-third) of the Gáikvád's dues from the city of Ahmadábád were of such a nature that the British could not continue to exact them, and the places he acquired were of historical importance : Dabhái, for instance, so early gained, and Sávali, where the last rites had been performed on the body of the founder of the family. On the other hand it is only fair to add that both the British and the Gáikvád's governments attached an importance to Ahmadábád as the old capital of Gujaráat, which then made its acquisition seem a great gain, but which to us at this day is quite incomprehensible.³

There is still an article of the supplemental treaty of 1817 which requires notice, viz. the 8th, by which the Gáikvád agreed to maintain properly accoutred, regularly paid and mustered, and under the direction of the Resident, a force of 3000 men, and we pass on

Second exchange.

to further exchanges of territory. The Gáikvád parted with Kaparband, Bhaliz, Karoda and some other villages, and acquired Vájápúr and the Tappa Samá of Kadi. And as a free gift the Honourable Company presented the Gáikvád with Okhamandal and Bet, because they contained two places of Hindu worship and devotion.

Later on the Gáikvád's Haveli in Ahmadábád Third exchange, A.D. 1818. and the Dascurai with its Ináms and Dumálgaums were demanded of Fate Sing. In June 1818 he exchanged these places for lands in Petlád, certain so-called moglai dues in the Surat *atłthávisi*, and later on the kasba of Mota and the pargana of Tarksir. Subsequently too the Peshvá's share of Petlád was accepted by the Gáikvád in lieu of Omrat, while, because he esteemed it as a holy place, he was given Sidhpúr.

This last exchange of territory was almost the final public act of Fate Sing's life. After an illness of five days only, and at the early age of 26, he died, perhaps through some act of treachery, on the 23rd June 1818. This memorable date marks the beginning of a new phase in the history of the Baroda State.

But from this matter we must for a moment turn to events of great and general interest. On the 6th of November 1817 the Peshvá made his sudden attack on the Resident and the few British troops at Poona. Little more than a week after his capital was entered and he was a fugitive.

Later in the month the Rájá of Nágpúr made a similar attempt with a similar result. In December Malhár Ráv Holkar rose and drew on himself the defeat of Mahidpúr inflicted on him by the great Deccan army which had been assembled to crush the Pindáris. At that time the British required all

the assistance they could get, and Fate Sing proved himself a staunch ally. For he spared neither men nor money in aiding Sir W. Keir's army of Gujarát with 2,000 horse under the command of the veteran Kehmál-ud-dín, who afterwards died during the campaign.

It would be well therefore to consider a little the meaning of the events described in the preceding chapters, premising that by the word "State" we design merely the governing power in the State, and by the word "revolution" a sudden and more than ordinarily violent change affecting that power. Gujarát was invaded and subdued by the Maráthás, and the temper of the great body of the people was so mild and submissive that the masses at no time exercised any but an impalpable influence over their rulers. In this short sketch of the Baroda State it is therefore impossible to define the vague power of the people, though full consideration should be paid to such a sentence as the following, written by Colonel Walker, "Although the power of the Native Government was not limited by positive rules or laws, yet its conduct was restrained by customs and forms, which if they did not prevent oppression, confined its exercise, as in the common sentiment of the people there existed an implied engagement on the part of the Government not to transgress those usages. This, it is true, afforded a precarious and uncertain degree of security, but it commonly sufficed to prevent any general and flagrant act of oppression." Passing on to the Maráthás we

find that they came to Gujarát as a military body of men, of whom the Dábháde was no more than the chief officer till the highest command passed from his family into the hands of his lieutenant Dámáji Gáikvád. At first then the Gáikvád was nothing more than the foremost among equals, but in times of great commotion, if circumstances favour an able and energetic man, his rise is rapid. Dámáji was this sort of a man thus favoured, and in rising he thrust down the pretensions of those who had entered Gujarát with him, though still the military class was a very powerful one. But the power of a class of men differs in this from that of an individual—it must be based on union, the offspring of mutual confidence. Dámáji's government, strong in itself, was circumscribed by the greater power of the Peshvá, but when he died the family was broken up into parties, and though for a time Fate Sing, a capable man, emerged triumphant out of the struggle, his life and death were attended by troubles which might have given the military class an opportunity of acquiring power. But there was no cohesion in that class, and it tamely suffered its power to be usurped by the mercenary troops which were composed of strangers. Still the class continued to be an influential one, while the power of the Peshvá, however weakened in itself, continued to increase from the day of Fate Sing's death to the accession of Anand Ráv, and this period of feebleness is marked not only by the rough insolence of the mercenaries, but by the insidious intrusion of the money-lenders.

When, however, the interference of the British was requested, a revolution took place altogether fatal to the mercenaries and to the Peshvá, and for a time to the military and money-lending classes. The main result was an enormous increase to the power of the Máharájá, who became an absolute ruler, on whom of course no constitutional checks were placed, while the military class was doomed to die out sooner or later after the establishment of the British subsidiary force. The otherwise independent sovereign had now to reckon with only one other force, namely, that which had saved him in a time of great danger and still supported him on the gádí. For a few years the interference of the Bombay Government was not only not resented but welcomed; that is, while the Arab troops were being dismissed, a rival party in the family repressed, the incubus of the money-lenders removed, the old suzerain and enemy the Peshvá, crushed, and the military class humbled by the partial reduction of the army. Such was the condition of things during the early part of the revolution occasioned by the interference of the British during the first twenty years of this century. But the course of events then led this revolution into another course, which brought it to an abrupt end. The Málvá war galvanised the military class into fresh life or semblance of life, and as dangers and difficulties, political and financial, rapidly disappeared, the independent sovereign could no longer bear foreign interference with the patience which at first charac-

terised his policy. While still very young, Fate Sing listened to the advice of two very able men, Colonel Walker and Gangádhār Shastrī. But when the former had left the country and the latter had died, he endeavoured to assert his independence, so that instead of rigid economy and military reduction, we find that there was a tendency to deal surreptitiously with the money-lenders and to stay reform in the army. So decided was this tendency that the Bombay Government postponed its plan of withdrawing from active interference, and its decision to maintain this policy was followed not by an amicable settlement but by a violent rupture. This was mainly owing to the character of the new sovereign, upon which naturally more now depended than had ever hitherto been the case owing to his increased power. From the accession of Sayáji Ráv we find an altered history—the Rájá endeavours to shake off foreign interference and to deal single-handed with his financial difficulties, but the military class does not profit by this except so far as the sovereign desires; and, as has not yet been mentioned, a resolute effort is made to repress the influence of ministers, without whom since the accession of Govind Ráv the sovereign seems not to have been able to act. Sayáji Ráv at the end of a long reign proved at what terrible cost a Native Ruler may act independently of Residents, Ministers, and guaranteed subjects.⁴

Note ¹, p. 156.—Govind Ráv, Bandoji Gáikvád and Bhagvant Ráv were given up to the Gáikvád government, and both were

imprisoned, the former, Mill says, for life in the fort of Gandisvar, on the Tápti.

*Note*², p. 157.—It may be as well here to note the circumstances under which the farm, at a very low rate, once more came into the Gáikvád's hands after Báji Ráv had taken it from him with the intention of never leasing it again.

*Note*³, p. 158.—Notice the calm manner in which the Maráthá and British conquerors exchanged the towns and villages of Gujarát. In the main the interests of the people concerned were not much thought of, but great attention was paid to the amount of revenue that could be extracted from them.

*Note*⁴, p. 163.—When considering the course which Sayáji Ráv took to oppose the British Government and the painful result of his policy, it must be borne in mind that the political changes which took place in India in the last quarter of the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th century were as extraordinary as they were rapid. The first Fate Sing was a prince whom both the Peshvá and the English sought to win and keep as a valuable ally. In Sayáji's time the British had not only supplanted the Peshvá, but wielded a power such as he never possessed the tithe of. The "independence" of the Gáikvád in reality became a misleading term, however strongly asserted. And whatever efforts the British might honestly make to respect such independence, the position of the state was a subordinate one, but to what degree it was perhaps impossible even for the shrewd Sayáji Ráv to guess.

A.D. 1818.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

HOW SAYÁJI RÁV WAS PLACED IN A MORE INDEPENDENT POSITION THAN HIS FATHER BY THE HON'BLE MOUNT-STUART ELPHINSTONE.

When Fate Sing died, his widow Rádhá Báí affected a desire of becoming satí, but was dissuaded from doing so by the permission of Major Carnac to adopt a son who was of the Gáekvád family,¹ but not near enough to succeed to the gadí, so that it was expressly stipulated that he should only inherit his father's private property. Takhat Báí had children, but she was not a legal wife to Ánand Ráv, so that they could have no pretensions. The undoubted heir to the throne was Sayáji Ráv, Fate Sing's younger brother, then only 19 years of age, and the Bombay Government had no hesitation in acknowledging him Regent. Rádhá Báí and Takhat Báí raised objections which were overruled: yet the former lady's aspirations were countenanced by the Diván Vithal Ráv Bháu and all the ministers and darakhdárs, as well as by the Rání Gahená Báí herself, one and all because they thus early recognised in the young prince Sayáji a man who would rule by himself alone, and who would not easily be moved by their counsels.

They were right, for the most marked characteristic of this, the most remarkable of all the Gáikvád

rulers, was his extreme love of power. At this time he was only known to the Resident as a studious, kindly, and quiet youth, and these good qualities of constant application to business and unusual sobriety in private life continued to distinguish his career. But who could then guess how great would be his tenacity of purpose, how jealous his suspicion of all about him, to what strange lengths his avarice would take him, [for his love of saving and hoarding dominated his liking for display,] or what would be the result of a strong will and good abilities enlightened by a limited education?

It would seem that fate would have it that Sayáji Ráv should fall out with his powerful allies at the very outset of his reign. He stood alone, among men and women who disliked him, and he thought that the Bombay Government grudged him their support; he also believed that the Baroda State had not been fairly treated after the fall of the Peshvá. To take up the latter point first, as it is connected with past events, it will be remembered that when the Peshvá, the Rájá of Nagpúr, and subsequently Holkar, entered into their last struggle with the British, these had been glad to accept active assistance from Fate Sing. Not only was a large portion of the subsidiary force employed in Málvá, but also a large body of Gáikvád horse was maintained at a great expense by the State, not merely during the actual continuance of the war, but for some time after, and by an express stipulation in the late treaty the Gáikvád thought himself entitled to parti-

cipate in the conquests made during the war in return for his co-operation during the year 1817-18, which had cost him over 40 lákhs. The only advantage he gained, however, was an exemption of the tribute of four lákhs which it had been agreed he should pay the Peshvá; but this was an indirect advantage springing rather from the extinction of the Peshvá's State than from a war in which territories had been acquired. Another still more indirect advantage to the State was taken into account by the Bombay Government, and it may be pointed out here as a historical fact that from this time Gujarát ceased to be in any danger of invasion or pillage from any foreign power.

We have alluded to Sayáji's discontent on another score. Soon after the Prince had been acknowledged Regent, that is, on the 2nd October 1819, poor Anand Ráo, who for some days past had given up his usual dose of opium, died, his head resting on a stone from religious motives, his eyes fixed on the treasure room which was the centre of his more earthly longings. And round that treasure room there at once ensued a family quarrel which was so lengthy, wordy, and petty, that a passing allusion to it is all that can here be made. Rádhá Báí had gained something by threatening to become satí; Takhat Báí on the death of her lord used the same threats, but as she was not believed to be at all in earnest, no attention was paid to them, and she was recommended by the Resident not to allow Sayáji to know that she was advancing all kinds of absurd

pretensions for herself and her sons. Apart from these pretensions she claimed the contents of the treasure room as the private property of the deceased. Sayáji said that they belonged to the State, and for some months the room was under a guard of British soldiers, [though there was a back entrance into it of which secret use was made by the sovereign,] till the Governor of Bombay came down to Baroda and settled this, and some other family disputes. Under British guarantee a nemnúk was settled on the Rání and her two sons, who after the mother's death separated their goods. One of the two, Balwant Ráv, who at this time (1819-20) put forward claims to the gadí, was a worthless youth who neglected his work and got into debt in order more quickly to enjoy himself, and gave his British protectors more trouble than enough to the day of his death. The other, Píláji, fell under the wrath of Víníráám, a minister of Sayáji's, of whom we shall hear more, because he would not bribe him, and by him he was robbed and by his orders two of his servants were killed. Thus the end of these rivals to Sayáji was not happy.

Indeed few of those who opposed Sayáji fared well, and here is another instance of the persistence* of the man's vengeance. Fate Sing's widow put forward the pretensions of her adopted son Govind Ráv to the gadí, and as he was a true Gáikvád these had some substance, and thoroughly alarmed and disgusted Sayáji. Because the foolish woman and her advisers would not accept a proviso that Govind

Ráv was not entitled, *through his adoption*, to any rights to the succession. Sayáji for a long time withheld from her and her son their nemnúk. The British guarantee was withdrawn from them, and it was not till 1826 that Rádhabóí and Govind Ráv waived his claims and got their allowance. But Sayáji now refused to fulfil his promises, and retained in prison a number of Govind Ráv's dependents whom he had arrested. At last the two cousins almost came to blows. Govind Ráv had increased the number of his guards and listened to overtures of marriage with a lady of Sindia's family, and Sayáji, on the other hand, refused him admittance into the city, in consequence of which on the 22nd of July 1829 an affray took place. Govind Ráv took refuge in a house near the Residency, belonging to Captain Ballantyne, and gathered some 800 or 1,000 retainers about him, while Sayáji Ráv proceeded to blockade him and them with his troops. This state of things continued for six months, and as the Resident refused to interfere or to force a passage by that road at the Ganapati and Dassará festivals, the processions could not take place. Finally Sir John Malcolm, who came down to Baroda in 1830, ordered Govind Ráv's followers to be paid and dismissed, and the youth to be taken off to Surat. His allowance was continued to him, subject to large deductions for debts, and for a fine incurred because of a cruel mutilation inflicted by him on one of his servants. Some years after he was removed to Ahmadábád (1835), where more quarrels took place

between him and Sayáji Ráv, who secured the property of both of Fate Sing's widows. There he remained a prisoner till he was handed over to the Gaikvád Government for listening to the idle talk of mutinous soldiers in 1856. At that time he had sunk into a wretched state of poverty, and showed symptoms of leprosy and insanity. Such was the end of another of Sayáji's foes.

To return however to his reign, which virtually began before Ánand Ráv's death, we remember that he was surrounded by enemies in his own court, and felt himself unsupported. Little more than a boy, Sayáji Ráv wanted an adviser, and unfortunately he selected one of the cleverest rogues in India, partly perhaps because his crooked talents imposed on him, more, as he declared, because he believed him to have great influence over the Resident, Major Carnac, of whom he was indeed the unworthy pet. After Gangádhār Shástrí came Dhákji Dádáji, and the great merits of the first were so fatally eclipsed by the rascality of the second, that in 1820 Mr. Elphinstone was constrained to write, "the Resident's intercourse with the Gaikvád is sometimes carried on by means of a minister under the influence of the Resident, of all courses the most invidious and the least successful." It almost seems now, so long after these events, that the ill-feeling which continually existed between Sayáji and the British Government sprang and grew and continued from sheer misunderstanding on the one part and the other, and certainly it is only through

such misunderstanding that it became possible for a worthless man to trick two Governments.

Dhákji Dádáji first appeared at Baroda in April 1816, and as his family was well thought of by Captain Carnac's father, whose firm was in Bombay, the Resident appointed him to be Native Agent in the place of the Shástrí, and though Fate Sing showed great dislike to him, he soon gained much influence in the Darbár owing to the support he got from the Residency. He also persuaded the Resident that he had reduced the State debt by nearly 40 lákhs, for at the end of the year 1816 it exceeded 94 lákhs and he was supposed to have cut it down to something less than 55 lákhs. There was then existing a system called Potadári, that is, as has been mentioned, the State yearly raised a loan to pay off the debts of the previous year and to meet the expenditure of the current year. These loans were made by Hari Bhakti and some of the large banking houses in the State who, for the disbursements they made, took 12 per cent. interest, though no risk was run. By threatening to get the money required from abroad, Dhákji forced the bankers to accept 9 instead of 12 per cent. But he went a step further, for he persuaded the Resident to make him potadár, (much against Fate Sing's wish,) and then to allow Mairál Náráyan and Hari Bhakti to take each an equal share with himself in the business. This he was obliged to do, because he himself had no capital, nor did he intend to expend any; and when the two real bankers put $8\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs into the

concern, he put in nothing. He took up the Káthiá-vád potadári in the same way with Ratanji Khándás, and also undertook a valuable contract for the supplying of cash to the Contingent Force in Málvá. Though the State was apparently the gainer by 3 per cent. of interest, the mischief of the scheme was this, that Dhákji enriched himself by robbing everybody all round, the farmers of the revenue by taking percentage from them for guaranteeing the payment of their revenue at the right time, the State by transferring public moneys to his private accounts, by not cashing Darbár accounts without charging a high commission, and so on.

This was the man whom Sayáji wished to have as Minister, and as the Bombay Government would not allow him to be the servant of both Governments, Dhákji in September 1819 elected to work for the Mahárája, and on the 12th October 1819 became Diván. He obtained inám villages worth 30,000 Rs., and his whole salary mounted to 1 lákh. He did not remain in office long, though he did pretend to favour Sayáji against the pretensions of Rádhá, Báí and Takhat Báí; for a host of complaints soon arose, which rendered the Bombay Government, who never relished the appointment, so suspicious, that in January 1820 they suggested to the Mahárája that he should retire. Sayáji joyfully closed with the proposal, for he now believed that Dhákji's influence at the Residency was nothing wonderful. But the pecuniary embarrassments of the State and other reasons at this time necessitated

the first of a remarkable series of visits made by certain Governors of Bombay to Baroda, and to describe Mr. Elphinstone's visit, Dhákji's history must for a time be dropped.

The admirable manner in which the State had been all but freed from

Years.	Gross Revenue.	Disbursements.	a large debt has been described in a previous Chapter. A change for the worse now took place, at first
	Rs.	Rs.	
1812-13...	69,53,479	66,41,411	
1813-14...	74,97,878	59,21,045	
1814-15...	73,63,255	58,15,981	
1815-16...	67,10,413	57,37,508	

slowly, then very rapidly. Between the years 1812-13 and 1815-16 the aggregate of the gross revenue had increased by 6 lákhs, but of the total disbursements by nearly 40 lákhs. The wonder is that the change during this time was not greater. In 1812-13 a fearful famine had scourged Gujarát but devastated Káthiávád; and a falling off of the revenue had necessarily ensued, and in 1814 the Peshvá withdrew the valuable farm of Ahmadábád, while the disturbances which followed that event, and which sprang from the diplomatic tension between the two Governments and the British, together with the apprehensions of Pindhári invasions, necessitated an increased expenditure of 16 lákhs on the Sibandi forces. Nearly 18 lákhs had been spent on the unfortunate embassy to Poona, and in his later days Fate Sing had begun to fight shy of the Resident and conceal his accounts, during which time the Modi Kháná expenses had increased by more than 6½ lákhs, and contingent expenses by

nearly 7 lákhs, but this was mainly the result of the famine and the other causes above enumerated. It may here be added that after the downfall of the Peshvá, the subsequent exchanges of territory in Gujarát and other changes, the revenues of the State were estimated at about 74,40,292 Rs.

When the difference between receipts and disbursements became less favourable to the State, it was no longer so easy to pay off the loans, and so the high rate of interest rapidly increased the public debt. The Málvá campaign was a most costly one to the State. And some other causes had conspired to undo the economical results of past years.

Mr. Elphinstone, who had become Governor of Bombay in 1819, visited Baroda in April 1820, when he discovered that though in February 1819 Captain Carnac had hoped by the end of that year

to find the State clear of debt
State debt, 1,07,66,297 Rs.

and in possession of a surplus, in fact it owed over a crore of rupees. Of this sum more than 27 lákhs arose from the Málvá war, as arrears for the army in 1817-18 nearly 25½ lákhs, and for the troops in Káthiavád and Rájpipla nearly 10 lákhs. The fact was that certain items of expenditure had never been submitted to the Resident, and the payment of the troops had fallen into arrears, partly because the bankers had refused to advance money at Dádáji's reduced rate of interest, and partly because they distrusted this minister and did not understand what would follow the then state of affairs. To get free of these difficulties, it

was proposed that three loans should be raised : 1st, one of half a crore of rupees, to be paid off at the rate of 12 lákhs a year ; 2nd, one for the Káthiavád debts, amounting to 20 lákhs, of which 3 lákhs were to be paid off yearly ; 3rd, a third Potadári loan was to be raised of 30 lákhs for the expenses of the current year, the whole of which was to be annually repaid. These yearly payments of 45 lákhs were to be secured by waráts or pledges on the revenues of different maháls, and the interest on all three was to be $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., i.e. a mean between Dhákji's low rate and the normal high rate of 12 per cent. After some hesitation Sayáji agreed to the Potadári loan and to pay off 12 lákhs on a loan of 50 lákhs and as much as he could on Hari Bhakti's loan of 42 lákhs, i. e. 3 lákhs, and as 14 lákhs were due to Sir John Malcolm for the Málvá forces, they were to be repaid with interest after 12 months. It was hoped that the revenue would be at least 71 lákhs, the expenditure about 56 lákhs, so that 15 lákhs could be spared. To reduce the expenditure Sayáji already proposed to strike off a third of the allowance of his ministers. But this he was not allowed to do because they were all, (at least the great ones, except, as was then thought, the Shástri's family,) under British guarantee, and so the matter was allowed to stand over for a time, much to the Mahárája's annoyance. He also proposed thus early in his reign to cut down the allowances of persons under the Resident's protection. He was permitted by Mr. Elphinstone to reduce the whole expense of his fleet, quite a modern

item; but he himself refused to diminish the number of his troops, and Mr. Elphinstone remarked, "the abuses in the army are almost inherent in its nature and are not to be removed without a sort of revolution, not only in the army, but the State. As there are few Jágírs in the Gaíkvád's territory, the income of his chiefs is almost entirely derived from their military pay and perquisites, which again are connected with the superior rate of pay to the men belonging to the greater Sardárs and to the loose system of muster in use in this State." No better muster could be introduced unless European officers were appointed, and such a step would be too unpopular. So this reform was not insisted upon, and the old evil was allowed to remain in full force.

To maintain a healthy system of reduced expenditure it was absolutely necessary that Sayáji should have a good minister, and the selection of such a man was the next subject of discussion. Before relating what was done let us now follow to its end Dhákji's career, the man who had been in the main responsible for the present difficulties.

Sayáji had been glad enough to get rid of Dhákji as minister, but he naturally did not wish this man to continue to be a burden on the State. Dhákji, on the other hand, who was gifted with admirable impudence and volubility, fought hard for his own interests. He wished to retain the Potadári, a business into which he had never sunk a farthing, and at last he sold his share in it for $1\frac{3}{4}$ lákhs, when, as has been mentioned, six of the chief bankers took

up the Potadári, which was in future to be limited to about 30 lákhs a year. He also retained his inám villages, worth 30,000 Rs. a year. Vexed at these too favourable terms, the Mahárája brought some well founded charges of vast embezzlement against him, and refused to pay him the $1\frac{3}{4}$ lákhs. Convinced of his rascality, the Bombay Government withdrew his bahándari, and he was forced to disgorge $7\frac{3}{4}$ lákhs for embezzlement, after having been allowed to squeeze his agent Umea Shankar, no less a rogue than himself, and finally his sanad was cancelled. He went to Bombay, and by dint of importunity worked on the Court of Directors to request Sayáji to restore to him his Inám villages (1835) and at last to force the Mahárája to give them back with all interest (1840). But Dhákji still hoped to get his $7\frac{3}{4}$ lákhs with interest, and as his old patron Major, now Sir James Carnac, was going to pay Baroda a visit as Governor of Bombay, his ingenuity suggested to him a plan for tricking Sayáji. He persuaded him that he would influence Sir James Carnac to grant him some matters about which he was very anxious if 5 lákhs were placed at his disposal. He not only got that sum but $12\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs more were promised him on his representing that the first bribe was not sufficient. But naturally the Governor did not cede what Sayáji wanted, and indeed Dhákji had never said a word to Sir James Carnac beyond pressing him most impertinently to ask the Mahárája to re-employ him. Sayáji, beginning to suspect that he was being im-

posed upon, determined that two agents of his favourite Gopál Mairál should go to Bombay to enquire into the matter. These the arch-trickster bribed, and on their recommendation 5 lakhs of the 12½ promised were sent to Dhákji. After a time, however, Sayáji began again to suspect that he was being cheated, so he sent down Harilál, the agent of his own brother-in-law, the Killedár of Baroda. Dhákji could not bribe him, though he did succeed in having him imprisoned for a time on a false charge of debt, and by degrees the whole story became known not only to Sayáji but to the Bombay Government, the whole story including the complicity of the infamous Bábá Náfada, who in 1837 conspired to ruin Goráji Pol, and in about 1846 virtually murdered the child of his master Sámál Bechar, the Banker, after embezzling large sums of money. Perhaps the most curious part of the whole story of Dhákji is that even after the full truth was known the Bombay Government continued to insist on his retaining the inám villages to the day of his death in 1846. It is no wonder, therefore, that he was always believed to be a favourite with that Government—not a creditable one.

Neither is it strange that in 1820 Mr. Elphinstone wished Sayáji to have a good minister and that Sayáji desired to exercise his own choice. Unfortunately the latter pitched on the one man in the whole of India whom the former could not possibly countenance. This was Sítarám, whose exile the Bombay Government had procured after the murder

of the Shástrí. Sítarám was even then the pet of the Baroda Court, and in 1816 Ánand Ráv had increased his *nemnúk* by 20,000 Rs. But Sayáji particularly favoured him, often consulted him, and fought hard to retain him at Baroda to the day of his death, which occurred in 1823. Vexed apparently at not getting him for minister, the Mahárája pretended to be indifferent as to who was appointed, and coldly consented to the nomination of Bábáji's son Vithal Ráv Bháú, the man, we remember, who had favoured the pretensions of Govind Ráv to the *gadí*. So this Vithal Ráv was appointed, but he exercised no great authority at any time, and was shortly replaced by the other Vithal Ráv called Divánji, or rather he was gradually elbowed out by him, for the latter from the outset had been joined to him in office. Vithal Ráv Bháú died in 1828, and Sayáji, keeping in mind the grudge he owed him, persecuted his adopted son Bháskar Ráv the more relentlessly, that he was under the protection of the British, a protection he certainly did not deserve, for he was a foolish and cruel man. Like others he fell a victim to the Mahárája's hate and to the spite of Venírám, a striking example of the uselessness of the Bahándarí system.

So Vithal Ráv Divánji became minister. He had rendered the State brilliant services during the Káñi war, and in Káthiávád, first as Bábáji's lieutenant, when he beat and captured Malhar Ráv Gáikvād, and afterwards as Babáji's *locum tenens* and successor, for under his somewhat unscrupulous tenure of

the Subhâ's post, he had increased both the revenues and the territories of the State. It should however be noticed that many of his unjustifiable intrigues to gain ascendancy over the Kâthlâvâd chiefs were not known to the British officers, while his apparent co-operation in several points had made him their favourite. For a time Sayâji was much pleased with his new minister, and his *nemnûk*, fixed at 60,000 Rs., was guaranteed to him by the British authorities, while his other allowances exceeded 6,500 Rs. But, as time went on, Sayâji began to suspect that his minister was not entirely his servant, was too ready to listen to the suggestions of the Resident, and his liking was turned into the bitterest hatred, though the change of feeling occurred soon after he had (1st April 1827) increased Vithal Râv's allowances to 1,05,000 Rs.

What led to his rupture with his minister will be described in another chapter. For the present we return to one more result of Mr. Elphinstone's visit, after quoting a passage which an able British officer wrote relatively to Sayâji and his ministers. "The aptitude of Sayâji has generally induced him to retain the chief management of Baroda affairs in his own hands, though his policy has varied from the different characters of his advisers. Sayâji Râv's dislike to the appointment of a minister may be taken as an evidence of his shrewdness, for Divâns are very expensive to the State, irksome to the Prince, and bad for the people, unless they happen to be possessed of more than ordinary

“ability and integrity.” A little later we shall see the mischief done by one of these Diváns, Veñírám Aditrám.

In 1820 Mr. Elphinstone stated in form that the commission which had been instituted at Baroda, under the direction of the Resident, had come to an end, as it had existed only in consequence of the infirmity of Ánand Ráv, and that in future the Government would be conducted by the Mahárája in person. At the same time he warned Sayáji that he should pay his debts, fulfil his engagements, deal openly with the British Government, and abstain from any intercourse with foreign states. The engagements referred to were with the guaranteed ministers, the bankers and the tributary states, and nearly all the quarrels which took place during his long reign sprang from his neglect of the first two sets of engagements, which, it must be confessed, were in their nature faulty and too stringently enforced by the British Government, while no approach was ever made to open dealing with that Government, especially in the matter of finances. There was the less danger of Sayáji's breaking his engagements with the tributary states that the Gáikvád's troops were by agreement at this time withdrawn from Káthiávád and the Mahí Kánthá, and all political connections with these countries were broken off, the British Government consenting to collect the revenues free of expense to His Highness. Still on this point, too, quarrels did arise.

It remains but to consider the changes that had

taken place. The Resident was no longer to take an active share in the government, though he was to be made acquainted with all financial arrangements, and on extraordinary occasions to give his advice or convey that of his government. The Native Agent was to take an altogether subordinate position. The Má-hárúja, except with regard to foreign affairs, was to be independent, and to choose his own minister after consulting the British Government. In short Sayáji's reign began prosperously enough; there were debts, true, but the way out of them was clear and not very tedious; there were engagements with certain ministers and bankers, but they were not very onerous,—nothing compared to some the Gáikvád had entered into and observed; the Rájá was not quite free, but he was more independent than his brother and father had been. There were, in a word, a few points at which the Gáikvád and British Government touched, or rather rubbed. Would Sayáji and the Bombay Government avoid friction, and so settle down into comfortable relations, or was every difference, little and great, to be made the most of, fought over, turned into an excuse for crimination and recrimination? Alas! we shall see.

Note ¹, p. 165.—Govind Ráv, the son of Ganpat Ráv Gáikvád (and grandson of Máloji, brother of Piláji Gáikvád), the former Jágirdár of Sankhedá, whom the British had dispossessed of his territory at the beginning of the century, and who afterwards took refuge at Dhár, where he died an imbecile. Ganpat Ráv's family then returned to Baroda and was moderately pensioned by Fate Sing, but Govind Ráv's adoption gave umbrage to Sayáji, and both he and the family never had a happy moment afterwards.

A.D. 1814.]

CHAPTER XIX.

HOW SIR JOHN MALCOLM ENDEAVOURED TO COMPEL SAYÁJI RÁV TO ABIDE BY HIS ENGAGEMENTS, AND SEQUESTERED A LARGE PORTION OF HIS DOMINIONS.

Though Sayáji Ráv and Mr. Elphinstone had come to an understanding on many important subjects, a few points had been left unsettled, on which the final decision, being unfavourable to His Highness, gave him great umbrage. Chief among these was the refusal on the part of the Bombay Government to recognise any claims of the Gáikvád for the Gháns Dáná tribute in that part of Káthiávád which had belonged to the Peshvá, and some similar claims in the Khedá collectorate in the districts originally formed in the Ahmadábád direction, and in the dominions of the Naváb of Cambay. The origin of this tribute has been explained in Chapter XIV., and its present proceeds are given in Appendix VIII. Want of space forbids us to dwell on this matter; but it is just worth noting that the refusal of the Naváb of Cambay to accede to the demands of the Gáikvád forced the Bombay Government to allow the latter to make a military demonstration against the Naváb, who was under their protection. In 1814 seventeen of the Naváb's villages were seized and their revenue appropriated by the Gáikvád for four years. Three lákhs of revenue were

thus confiscated, but in 1821 Mr. Elphinstone decided that the Gáikvád's claims for 25,000 Rs. yearly should be reduced to 4,200 Rs., that he should restore to the Naváb a large portion of the three lákhs as well as the confiscated villages, but should retain a sum of money sufficient by its interest to indemnify him for the future. The Gáikvád had expected much better terms, and undoubtedly, if the British had not just at this moment created a revolution in the history of Gujarát, the tax would have become a regular tribute, though it had apparently been gathered only four times in past years, and on each occasion the Naváb had protested against it as a forcible exaction.

It is well to bear in mind how in this and many other ways the establishment of British power in Western India had a two-fold effect on the Baroda State. On the one hand the encroachments of the Peshvá came to an end, and the Gáikvád was firmly seated on the gadí according to the provisions of certain treaties. On the other hand the Gáikvád himself was prevented from extending his influence in Káthiavád, the Mahí and Revá Kánthás, and in the neighbouring tributary states. In 1818 a Political Agent was appointed to protect young Fate Khán, the ruler of Páhlánpúr, as well as Rádhanpúr and other petty states bordering on the Rañ of Kachh, Sind, and Márvád. A few years later (1825), Sindia's Pávangañ, Panch Maháls, Barreah, Rájpiplá, and Chhotá Údepúr were placed under a Political Agent, who had also the power to mediate between

the Gáikvád and his Mewássi subjects of Sávali, Sankhedá, Tilakvádá, and other places. Up to the time when the British stepped in there had been constant little gains and losses, encroachments, disputes about tribute, and so on; after their advent claims were investigated and settled once for all, and all that was in a state of transition became of a sudden rigidly crystallised. It is no wonder that many hopes and ambitions were doomed to suffer sore disappointment, and that the arrest of old habits seemed in itself a hardship which made men overlook advantages which were in reality of much greater importance. A good instance of this may be found by examining the dispute concerning the Rájpíplá State, when a doubtful succession had given the Gáikvád the opportunity of thoroughly looting the country, till the process was brought to an abrupt termination through the interference of the British.

To return to the internal affairs of the Barodá State. Her Highness the Rání Gahená Báí, up to the time of her death, which took place several years after Mr. Elphinstone's visit to Baroda, exercised great influence over the mind of Sayáji Ráv, and this influence was directed to the fostering of the Maharája's already strong proclivities towards hoarding private treasures "by the receipt of presents for appointments of farmers, and for remission of revenue as well as of fines from offenders for crimes." It would seem as if His Highness was so anxious to amass riches that he diverted from their natural outlay the revenues of the State; but it may be

that the policy which he adopted and which at first sight seems almost dishonest, was dictated by the wish to rid himself of British interference and supervision, of the guarantee system and the influence of bankers supported by a foreign power. However that may be, it is certain that Sayáji did not in the least keep his promises to pay off the guaranteed debt, and that after the year 1823-4 the embarrassment became so great, that the Resident was under the necessity of offering the Mahárája some very unpalatable advice. He recommended him "to pay off a portion of the debts from his private treasury, which he could easily afford to do," for while this was filling rapidly, the public finances were being as rapidly disorganised. At this time Sayáji refused point-blank to follow the Resident's advice,¹ yet it was known that in addition to 55 lákhs' worth of jewels and inherited property he had by this time already managed to collect 44 lákhs of treasure. Mr. Williams² was obliged to send in still gloomier reports of the Mahárája's persistence in refusing to pay the guaranteed debts till the year 1827, after the death of Gahená Báí. But then in his despatch dated the 31st of May, he was able to state that Sayáji consented to the "issue of septennial leases of the maháls to respectable men, chiefly the great State creditors." This he considered to be a great reform: for the disorder in the State finances sprang rather from the falling off of the revenues than the increase of expenditure; and this falling off was the immediate result of letting out the maháls annually to

men of doubtful means and position. These men obtained the lease of the maháls at a low rate, but extorted undue sums from the rayats; and they were countenanced by the Mahárája because they purchased his support by private nazaránás. Now it was the loss of these private nazaránás quite as much as the substitution of the guaranteed State creditors for men of his own choosing to which Sayáji Ráv could not reconcile his mind: and we gather from the vague charges he made later on against the Acting Resident, Mr. Willoughby, and the native agent Sárábhái, (whom he asserts Lord Clare to have dismissed in 1832,) of "sending to "Bombay all sorts of accusations against him and his "vakíls in 1827," that his mind was in an extreme state of irritation.

It was on his own Minister, however, that the results of his wrath and suspicion fell most heavily. In the last chapter we mentioned that on the 1st of April 1827, Viṭhal Ráv Divánji was in great favour with his master, but that shortly after he was treated by him with extreme harshness. Towards the end of the year Sayáji Ráv dismissed him from his post and declared that he had never wished to increase his salary or enter into the septennial leases, but that Viṭhal Ráv, acting in collusion with Mr. Willoughby, had betrayed his interests. All kinds of intrigues followed, and the fallen minister, supported as he was by British influence, loudly complained that attempts were being made to take his life. The outcome of these intrigues was most

disastrous, for in 1828 Sayáji Ráv selected as his advisers Venírám Adítám and Prabhákar Dixit, commonly called Bháu Púráník, and the counsels of the first of these two men led the Mahárája far astray from the agreements into which he had entered, and persuaded him to persecute those of his own subjects who looked for protection to the British guarantees made in their favour. Bháu Púráník was conservative and retrograde, but Venírám, during the ten years he was in office, did much to embitter the quarrel between his master and the Bombay Government, and it appears a pity now that he was ever allowed to take up the office of Diván. Gopál Átmárám, who was appointed joint-minister in 1829 and retained that post till 1833, when he was ousted by the intrigues of Venírám, would have advised the Mahárája to take a different course, for his character formed a pleasant contrast to that of the man who supplanted him after a trip to Calcutta to push Sayáji's interests there.

Mr. Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay till the 28th of November 1827, and up to the last he treated the sensitive and suspicious Mahárája with the greatest courtesy and forbearance. He informed him, for instance, that he was at full liberty to deprive Vithal Ráv of his nemnúk; he frankly listened to his proposals for paying off the great loan in two years by drafts on the revenue and by a running loan, distinctly warning him at the same time that a heroic method of solving the financial difficulties of the State might plunge it into such

embarrassments as would force the Bombay Government to take upon itself the exclusive management of the revenues. But in 1827 Mr. Elphinstone was succeeded by Sir John Malcolm, and with the new Governor came a new policy. Sir John Malcolm thought it necessary to adopt the severest coercive measures in order to break the haughty spirit of Sayáji, and he would perhaps have succeeded in his object if his term of office had not first come to an end. His successor, Lord Clare, thoroughly disapproved of the harshest of his acts, and by reversing them deprived them of any good fruit they might have borne, though their bitterness lasted. As we shall see, Lord Clare endeavoured to effect by persuasion and gentle courtesy what Sir John Malcolm had failed to do by compulsion; but he was not altogether successful, and it required a fourth Governor, Sir James Carnac, to bring the long struggle to a close.

Mr. Elphinstone had praised rather than rejected Sayáji's proposal to pay off the guaranteed bankers at once and so to put an end to the accumulation of interest. There should have been no reason why these State creditors should refuse to accept immediate payment and should insist on being paid at the intervals specified when the septennial leases were drawn up. Yet it was on their refusal that the Bombay Government based its demand that Sayáji should pay his debt by instalments, and it was this point which finally led to the rupture shortly to be described. Moreover towards the end of the year

1827 Sayáji abandoned the guaranteed State potadár Hari Bhakti and began to draw cheques on other houses and to assign revenue for the payment of these drafts. Remonstrance after remonstrance was in vain made to the Mahárája, and at length Sir John Malcolm adopted the milder of the two courses from which he had previously been authorised by the Court of Directors to select. That is, he did not

List of Maháls first sequestrated (1828).

	Rs.
Petlád (worth)...	5,06,739
Bahiyal	87,454
Kudli	2,49,501
Dabhai	96,440
Báhádar-púr ... }	
Sinor	64,287
Amrelí	1,22,965
Siánagar	3,501

Tributes.

Káthiáváda	1,42,654
Mahí Kánthá ...	1,19,213
Revá Kánthá ...	79,821
Other sources ...	75,150

Total...15,47,725

undertake the management of the entire State, but on the 28th March 1828 he issued a proclamation announcing "the temporary sequestration of certain resources and territories of the Gáikvád State. The above sequestration has in view only the fulfilment of the pecuniary engagements made with the bankers under the guarantee of the British Government ;

but when that object shall have been attained, it will remain to consider of the reparation which may be due to itself for expenses, and to take ample security against any future violation either of the terms of treaties, or of the pledges and guarantees given to individuals."

At this time one very curious step was taken. The holders of the septennial leases, who were mainly the State creditors, were ordered to throw up their

leases by the Governor; but at the same time they were informed that any losses thus accruing to them would be refunded, and ultimately Lord Clare held the Gáikvād bound to pay them over seven lákhs of Rupees. After Sir John Malcolm had sequestered the above maháls, he visited Baroda on the 28th December 1829 and then enjoined on Sayáji to maintain his Contingent of Horse on a better footing, to enter into a commercial treaty with the British, and to reform his coinage. But the condition of even two-thirds of the Contingent Horse left so much to be desired in the mind of Sir John Malcolm, that a little later he sequestered certain other districts

*List of Maháls
sequestered in 1830.*
Rs.

Petlád.....	
Bahiyál	
Paṭan	2,22,862
Visnagar.....	54,595
Vadanagar.....	13,517
Bījápúr	1,00,641
Sankhedá	17,836

4,09,451

in order that of their proceeds the force might be more regularly paid, while it was placed under the supervision of British officers. Now before 1830 three of the State creditors, Khushálchand, Sámal Bechar and Mangal Párekh had come to terms with the Mahárája, and consequently

some of the districts sequestered in 1828 were freed. To pay for the Contingent 10,03,747 Rs. were wanted: so of the first sequestered districts Petlád and Bahiyál were again taken, as it were, from the Gáikvād's government, and to them were added those mentioned in the margin. This second sequestration the Honorable Court of Directors

disapproved of on the 31st October 1832, and it did not last long.

Meanwhile the breach between the two Governments grew daily wider, and on the 1st of December 1830 Mr. Williams was directed to leave Baroda and take up the post of Political Commissioner of Gujarát. He was to reside at Ahmadábád, and to continue to exercise all the powers of Resident, being directed still "to superintend the strict fulfilment of the treaties of subsidy and alliance."⁵ At the same time the Subsidiary Force was incorporated with the Northern division of the Bombay Army, with head-quarters at Ahmadábád. When Mr. Williams betook himself to Ahmadábád in accordance with the Governor's orders, he carried away with him the guaranteed bankers who were Sayáji's great creditors. Perhaps they feared to remain at Baroda, but certainly their departure ruined their business for a time, and effectually retarded any possible agreement between them and their princely debtor.

It remains but to add, before we conclude this chapter, that Vithal Ráv, after his dismissal, was taken under the protection of the Bombay Government. The British guarantee was extended to him afresh: a pension was bestowed on him: he was made manager of the confiscated maháls: he was assured the tenure of certain villages he held in jágir in Káthiá-vád; and finally, by the power given to the Bombay Government through the treaty of 1802, he was confirmed in 1830 in the nemnúk guaranteed to him

in 1821, his págá was secured to him, and the adoption of a son, Krishná Ráv, was recognized, though the Mahárája refused to acknowledge the adoption and no nazaráná had been paid.

*Note*¹, p. 186.—At the risk of being prolix, a few figures representing the embarrassments of the State when left to itself are here thrown into the shape of a note.

Mr. Elphinstone in 1820 believed the entire debt to be 1,07,66,297 Rs., but on a second visit to Baroda in 1821 he found that a debt of 20 lákhs had not been mentioned, (it was not discovered to the Bombay Government till ten years later that another sum of over 40 lákhs was owing to Hari Bhakti,) and that though Sayáji had paid off 25 lákhs to the creditors instead of merely the specified 15 lákhs, he had allowed the army to fall into arrears. So in 1820-21 the State debt had mounted to 1,32,27,981 Rs., and two fresh loans were raised, one of 6,12,000 Rs. to pay for the Rájpiplá campaign, and of 15 lákhs to defray the arrears due to the army.

Mr. Elphinstone then presciently wrote, "in time the Mámlatdárs will experience the duplicity of Sayáji's character, and fearing for the security of their tenure, will become rapacious, and to secure their Mámlats will offer bribes to Sayáji himself. The Kamávisdárs will probably use the same means to obtain remissions."

By the year 1825 the known debt had mounted to Rs. 1,33,81,389.

According to a fresh agreement made on the 6th November 1826, the debts stood thus; and at the time the sequestrations of Sir John Malcolm were effected, thus:

	Rs.	Rs.
1. To the five bankers for old loan of 10 lákhs and a new loan	22,80,088	30,75,301
2. To Hari Bhakti and five others, for running loan	25,00,001	{ 7,81,250 17,10,751
3. To the five bankers ...	12,50,001	12,75,001
4. To Hari Bhakti	12,50,001	12,75,001
5. To Ratanji Mánik-chand	10,07,441	{ 2,28,008 (fresh); 10,07,001
6. A debt of about 15 lakhs has been omitted in this, due to Hari Bhakti		15,88,651

To pay off No. 1, varats for seven years were granted on Baroda, Sinor, the Surat aththávisi, Kadi, Petlád, and Visalnagar. In paying off No. 2, interest was fixed at $12\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., including manoti and potadári. To pay off No. 3, varats were granted for seven years on Baroda, the Surat aththávisi, and Kadi. To pay off No. 4, varats in similar instalments were granted on Amreli, Dabhai, Sankhedá, Vijápúr. To pay off No. 5, varats were granted for seven years on the Káthiávád revenues. When Sir John Malcolm sequestered the maháls, he undertook to pay off the State creditors.

The sum total due in A.D. 1830-31
wasRs. 48,96,109

And from the sequestrated maháls
were paid „ 9,53,500

Remainder... „ 39,42,609

The sum total due at end of 1831-2
was „ 41,78,609

Of which would have been paid from
the Maháls „ 9,53,500

There would have remained... „ 32,25,109

But meanwhile Lord Clare allowed Sayáji to come
to terms with his creditors, when the debts stood
thus:—

Hari Bhakti.....Rs. 14,65,175

Gopal Ráv Mairál „ 19,78,798

Ratanji Mánikchand „ 4,33,685

Rs. 38,77,659

Note 2, p. 186.—Mr. James Williams succeeded Mr. Norris in May 1821, and died at his post in November 1837. During the interval, as will be seen, the Resident was withdrawn from Baroda and Mr. Williams had certain other duties assigned to him at Ahmadábád.

Note 3, p. 192.—Sir John Malcolm has recorded his reasons for taking this extreme step, “The position of the Resident and “the minute interference with the affairs of the Gáikváḍ had “called into being a succession of native agents who had had an “ample share of those intrigues and misunderstandings which “had so long embarrassed the alliance.” A course was therefore proposed, “which would dispense with that vigilance which some

"deemed essential, but the absence of which would remove those
"causes of alarm, disgust and discontent, which called for a con-
"stant and degrading interference." It must be remembered
that Sir John Malcolm, during his visit to Baroda, approved of the
exile of Govind Rāv, and, to fully understand what were Sayāji's
feelings, this sentence may be considered, "The Bombay Go-
"vernment is aware that a very powerful though erroneous
"motive of action with Sayāji had been that Viṭhal Rāv, with
"the principal holders of the British guarantee and *Sārabhdī*,
"the *Native Agent*, had formed a conspiracy against him, and that
"they had proposed to elevate Govind Rāv to the gāḍī with the
"approval of the Residency." Such was the common belief in
Gujarāt and Kāṭhiavād.

A.D. 1831.]

CHAPTER XX.

HOW THE EARL OF CLARE ATTEMPTED TO PERSUADE SAYÁJI RÁV TO ABIDE BY HIS ENGAGEMENTS, RESTORED TO HIM HIS SEQUESTERED DISTRICTS, AND TREATED HIM WITH GREAT COURTESY—THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS CHANGE OF POLICY.

The struggle between the Bombay Government and Sayáji Ráv had created such alarm in the minds of a party in the Baroda Darbár that, on the 16th of February 1831, the Political Commissioner of Gujarát, Mr. Williams, reported that some of the relatives, and even some of the wives of Sayáji had conspired to seize his person, to punish his favourites and advisers, and, if he still proved obstinate, to proclaim his son Ganpat Ráv sovereign in his stead. The conspiracy failed, and some of the principal parties were executed: nevertheless it was fortunate for the Gaikvád that Sir John Malcolm left India in 1831, and was succeeded by Lord Clare, as the latter at once determined to follow a policy which should form a perfect contrast to that of his predecessor.

Lord Clare twice visited Baroda; the first time in November 1831 for six days, merely "to establish an amicable understanding, and to effect a personal reconciliation between the heads of the two Governments by showing a disposition on Lord Clare's part to treat the Rájá with the utmost consideration

"and respect"; the second time from the 22nd of March to the 6th of April 1832, when a settlement was arrived at on most of the points in dispute.

During his first visit Lord Clare found out that the Mahārāja was anxious to pay off in a lump sum all he owed to the guaranteed creditors, and that these men, being bankers in Baroda, were equally anxious to come to an understanding with the prince, and to return to their homes and their business. Hari Bhakti for instance, one of their number, was owed by private individuals in Baroda some 20 or 30 lākhs of Rupees, and as long as he was away, he could not hope to recover one anna of that sum. Sir John Malcolm had insisted that the creditors should be repaid in fixed instalments; but there was no necessity for this, argued Lord Clare. Mr. Elphinstone had not discountenanced a proposal made by Sayāji to pay back the whole sum at once, provided, it is true, that the State did not thereby contract new and larger debts. The Governor of Bombay was now of opinion that repayment might safely be made, that the guaranteed creditors might be allowed to come to terms with the State, and that the Bombay Government had no need to pry into the matter any further, once it had assured itself that the creditors were satisfied. And so the long drawn out dispute came to an end: three of the creditors had before this come to terms, and now (9th April 1832) Hari Bhakti, Gopāl Rāv Mairāl, Ratanji Kándás, and Ratanji Mānikchand declared themselves to be content and suffered their

deeds to be destroyed : no notice was taken by the Governor of the actual sums paid, though the debt stood nominally at 38,77,659 Rs., and one point only was ascertained, namely, that Sayáji had parted with 25 lákhs of his own private hoards.¹

It is true that a year or two later, Colonel Outram asserted that "the payments to the Baroda bankers "were reported to be fictitious, those who held our "pledges preferring to trust to the Gáikvád." But Lord Clare did not dwell so much on this view of the case as on the vexatious and useless nature of the British interference. "The sequestration," he wrote, "had taken place in March 1828, and it was "then calculated that five years would suffice to "clear off the debt. But in 1832 Mr. Williams "thought that five more years would be required, "and he (Lord Clare) did not see when an end would "come to the divided government of districts, where "the rule *de jure* belonged to the Gáikvád and "that *de facto* to the British, where one power could "not and the other power would not punish offenders, so that there was perfect immunity of crime "and unbounded licence which would eventually demoralize the population." The Bombay Government had freed itself by the step now taken of its obligations to the guaranteed creditors, and within fifteen days of the 5th of April 1832, Petlád, Dabhái, Bahádarpur, Sinor, Kaḍi, Sankhedá, Bahiyal, Sianagar, and Vadanagar were restored to their rightful owner.

But the repayment of the sums due to the gua-

ranteed bankers was not the only case in dispute. There were vast sums due to persons who had no guarantee, and these Lord Clare very justly refused to take into account. Hari Bhakti, for instance, now declared that when Mr. Elphinstone in 1820 imagined that Sayáji had placed before him all the debts then due by him, one item had been concealed, namely, that to himself were owing over 40½ lákhs of Rupees. Balvant Ráv Gáikvád claimed 11 lákhs, the farmers of the septennial leases which had been forcibly abandoned claimed over 7 lákhs. Lord Clare, therefore, found that the British Government, after overlooking many of the State debts, would have to enforce the repayment of nearly 61 lákhs of Rupees. He contented himself with exacting from Sayáji Ráv a promise that such claims should be satisfied within one year. Besides all this, there were two points which Lord Clare, unwilling to decide himself, referred to the Honorable Court of Directors. Sayáji maintained that he would not pay Viṭhal Ráv anything, and the proceeds of his nemnúk amounted to over 1,35,000 Rs.: the cost of establishment in the sequestered districts had run up to over 68,500 Rs., and as Sayáji had withdrawn from these districts his own sibandi, and it was thought that he might forcibly expose their seizure, British troops had been sent to occupy them at a cost of over 1,20,000 Rs. It was therefore clear that the State was not free from debt, and that Lord Clare's settlement left much unsettled.

It remains to add that Sayáji Ráv himself suggested that he should deposit 10 lákhs in a British Treasury which the Government should be at liberty to expend if the Contingent Force was not punctually paid. Lord Clare accepted the money, for which no interest was to be paid, and after exacting a promise that the Contingent Force should in future be maintained on a healthy footing, restored to Sayáji the remaining sequestrated districts. The Governor's proceedings were approved by the Government of India on the 6th of June 1832 and by the Court of Directors on the 6th of November 1833. The latter even suggested that the 10 lákhs should be restored to Sayáji, but this was not done till 1841, for in the meantime fresh differences had arisen between the two Governments.

Thus to all appearance the Bombay Government and Sayáji Ráv became good friends. Mr. Williams, though he still continued to be Political Commissioner of Gujarát, (the office not being abolished till after the death of the Resident, Mr. Boyd, in 1844,) returned to Baroda towards the end of 1835. The Court of Directors approved of the measure on the 13th of February 1838, and wrote that all should be done "which was necessary for the purpose of retracing an ill advised step. We consider the residence of the Political Commissioner at the Gáikvád's court, and frequent personal communication between him and that prince, essential." The Bombay Government wisely resolved to disregard any matters in which it had not hitherto

become involved. It was clearly discerned that the trouble of looking after His Highness' finances met with no sufficient reward. The tendency was to leave to themselves as much as possible people who possessed the British guarantee, and the privilege of obtaining protection from the British Government was not extended to any fresh person. Sayáji Ráv clearly got a fresh start; and if he had been commonly prudent he would not have fallen foul of his friends within a year or two. But what in truth were the results of Lord Clare's forbearance?

In another portion of this book (Khande Ráv's Army) the manner in which Sayáji Ráv carried out his reform of the Contingent will be told. But it is needless to dwell on any one point. The period between Lord Clare's visit in 1832 and Sir James Carnac's in 1841, is the darkest in the whole of Sayáji's reign. Venúráam, we have stated in the last chapter, supplanted Gopál Átmárám in 1833, and backed up as he was by such rogues as Bápú Argade, Bábá Náfađa, Ganesh Pant, and Bháu Puráník, retained his influence with the Prince till the year 1839. It was during this time that he urged his master to set the Bombay Government at naught, so that on the 11th August 1837 it was recorded by the latter, "in no less than 305 cases the applications of our officers for redress from injuries sustained have either been refused or evaded." Sir Robert Grant, consequently, quoted with approval certain remarks passed by the High Court of Bombay in regard to matters of police in Gujarát, and acted in their spirit

in other directions. "The ostensibly improved "feeling between the Gáikvād Government and our "own, has been unproductive of any amelioration in "the state of things in Gujarát. The object in "view for us, therefore, is to make a thorough change "from supineness to activity, from indifference to "energy, without further waiting."

In the middle of February 1838 the parganah of Nausári was sequestrated and remained so three years². Mancharji Karsatji, the Desái of Nausári, was the first person in the Baroda State who received a British guarantee, which was not, however, strictly speaking, hereditary. A successor of this Mancharji was for a time deprived of all his hereditary possessions by Sayáji Ráv in 1829, pending the settlement of his accounts. The Bombay Government had interfered in behalf of this man, and Sayáji had promised Lord Clare that the matter should be settled within one year. But the Mahárája utterly neglected to fulfil his promise and this was the first step taken in the direction once pursued by Sir John Malcolm to bring him to reason, the beginning of fresh sequestrations.

But now, though the sequestration of the Petlád district will not be recorded in this chapter, the famous 28 "demands" which preceded that punitive act, being retrospective, may fitly be mentioned: and they should find a place here, that some idea may be gained of what took place in Sayáji's reign between the years 1832 and 1841.

The first regarded a deplorable incident. On the

17th of August 1833 and subsequently, a person named Valabhdás Mánikchand, an opium broker, who had long lived in Baroda though he was a British subject, complained to the Resident that sixteen of his relations had been imprisoned because a friend to the minister Vepíráam had instituted judicial proceedings against his brother. Not only the Resident, but in July 1834 the Governor General, pressed the Maharája to release these people; but Sayáji Ráv refused compliance, when the matter assumed tragic proportions owing to the death of the petitioner, who committed suicide, being no longer able to bear up against the misfortunes which surrounded him. It was the death of this obscure person that determined Sir Robert Grant, the Governor of Bombay, to use other than gentle means to bring Sayáji to reason.

If not the first, the most important demand made by the Bombay Government on Sayáji Ráv was for the dismissal of the minister Vepíráam Adítrám. He was accordingly deprived of his post on the 28th November 1839, and on the 24th February 1840 the Maharája formally announced to the Government that he should never be re-employed. Subsequently, when in 1841 Sir James Carnac visited Baroda and pressed the Prince not to communicate with Vepíráam, Sayáji declared that he now hated him, and that in future he wished to dispense with a minister altogether. Sir James granted this request, "so long as His Highness should continue on good terms with the Resident," listen to his advice and

avoid all breach of engagements." As Sayáji had given way on this point, the other advisers of the Court, only less objectionable than the minister, Bápú Argade, Bábá Náfađa, Ganesh Pant, and Bháá Púráník, were not abruptly dismissed: but Sayáji was warned that "they were not to interfere in any matter in which the British Government or any of its guarantees were concerned."

One of the past acts of Veníráam's career formed the subject of a demand, viz. that some restitution should be made to Púnjái Zoráji, a British subject, both of whose hands the minister had caused to be cut off because he had unduly pressed for some girás rights. And with this reference to the minister's deeds, while in power, we, for the moment, leave him, though later on his behaviour towards persons holding the British guarantee may be described.⁴

A number of demands resulted from the disturbed condition of affairs in Káthiávád. Some Vhaghers of Okhámandal had committed robberies in the Jám's territories; elsewhere another Vhagher chief had been driven to "take the road;" a foul murder had been committed; and the Gáikvád officer in charge of that district had encouraged piracies. Another officer in Káthiávád had oppressed some of the guaranteed chiefs in the peninsula; a settlement with certain Káthis had not been carried out; and so on. One of the chief demands therefore was that that portion of Káthiávád which belonged to the Gáikvád should be better administered.

Co-operation in matters of police and satisfaction

for past acts of gross carelessness on the part of the Gáikvād officers (the former point never was really settled); measures to prevent offenders, subjects of the British Government, from taking refuge within the boundaries of the Baroda State formed, together with specific cases, another batch of demands on Sayáji, which testify to this day to the monstrous insecurity to life and property which existed during those years within and along the boundaries of the Baroda State.

Finally the Gáikvād was called upon to recognise and confirm all the guarantees of the British Government, including those made to Gangádhār Shástrí, Dhákji Dádáji, and the Desái of Nausári, and "to agree to all the measures which had been adopted by the British Government for affording satisfaction to those individuals of their claims." It may also be added that the rights of the family of Subhánji Pol, once commander of the Khedá fort, and then, after its surrender, the possessor of a British guarantee, were energetically supported now, and later, in spite of the Mahárája's filchings and the misappropriation of the scoundrel Bárá Náfa. Again Sayáji was forced to make an allowance for Gopál Ráv Ganpat Ráv Gáikvād, the son of the Jágirdár of Sankhedá, whom His Highness had so ill-treated because he was the brother of his rival Govind Ráv, that he had actually gone out, or taken the road, as it was termed (*bhárvatai*).

Such was the condition of affairs in Baroda after Lord Clare's settlement; and the utter failure of

the Bombay Government to influence His Highness by gentle persuasion, more than justifies the step taken by Sir Robert Grant's successor, under the pressure of which the Mahārāja made great haste to come to terms with his powerful ally.

Note 1, p. 199.—Mr. Ogilvie, Assistant Resident in 1845, gives the following account of the Mahārāja's private fortune. 1st, Sayāji made 2 lākhs a year, (and before the septennial leases perhaps 4 or 5 lākhs, according to Mr. Williams,) from nazaránás. Each farmer of revenue on taking the lease of a district would pay him a donceur of from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 40,000. Farmers charged with oppression or other crime commuted their punishment by payment. Nazaránás from heirs were transferred to the private account of the Gáikvād, as well as those given by farmers of imposts on various articles of consumption in the city of Baroda. In fact all the tricks played by the old Gáikvād with the State revenues were known to His Highness. 2nd, His private villages were worth 1 lākh. 3rd, His private grass lands, taxes on firewood, &c., and lapses of pension, brought him 40,000 Rs.

Besides, Sayāji was a great banker. The central bank of Ganesh Ishvar in Baroda was set going in 1829. He had two establishments in his own palace which yielded 1,25,000 Rupees. Another bank in the city brought in 8,000 Rs., and branch banks at Sádri, Kaḍi, Petlād and Rājkot about 5,000 Rs. each. He thus increased his private fortune by five lākhs a year, and what he did not save was spent in disbursements to relations and dependents, in arena sports or shows, and alas! in scattering bribes and secret-service-money.

The sum of 25 lākhs is mentioned in the Residency Records, but in the State accounts for A.D. 1838 (Samvat 1894) we find 57 lākhs debited against the State as due to Sayāji for what he had advanced to the bankers out of his private property.

Note 2, p. 203.—The attachment was taken off on the 1st February 1841, after Sir James Carnac's visit, and the Desái came to some private agreement with the Gáikvād in 1845.

Note 3, p. 204.—The thirteenth demand was that "the Resident should be treated with respect and attention, and should be

allowed free intercourse with all with whom he might wish to communicate." The Mahārāja was held to have assented to this by a general promise to observe the existing treaties.

Note *, p. 205.—The following few lines will give an idea of the condition of Baroda under Venīrām, though of course the counter-petition mentioned is not to be implicitly trusted:—

In 1837 the Bombay Government, relying on Art. 9 of the treaty of 1805, and on the fact that Venīrām was a British subject, demanded of Sayājī his dismissal. The Mahārāja then pleaded that he had been 25 years a resident of Baroda, and 10 years in his employ with the high sounding title of Vakīl Himat Bahādūr. Eight months before the Bombay Government had made this request, Venīrām had left Baroda suddenly for a short time. Later on he declared that he had meditated a journey to Benares, being in fear of his life from Bhāskar Rāv Vithal, just as in 1827 he was threatened by the Native Agent Sārābhāi and Vithal Rāv Devānji, though on this first occasion he was saved in 1831-2 by Lord Clare. He also averred that he did not go to Benares, because the Mahārāja had received a monster petition from all the leading people of Baroda begging that he should stay. At the time he was thus explaining these movements of his, the Bombay Government received an anonymous counter-petition which told a different tale. He was so hated in Baroda that he thought it safer to run away: unfortunately he was robbed on his journey from the town, and the Mahārāja to justify his forced return screwed out of the leading people in Baroda the petition of which Venīrām boasted. It was not a free petition, because he had robbed the house of Ratanji Kāndās and beaten the agent, after having him turned out of caste; he had robbed the house of Parbhūdās and that of Lālā Mangal Parakh. He had robbed other smaller fry, the Sardārs and the agent of Gopāl Rāv Mairāl. Later, Gopāl Rāv and Hari Bhakti had purchased his support, as had the Navāb of Baroda, who obtained from him the Sūbhā of Kāthiāwād, where he made a large fortune by oppression.

A.D. 1838.]

CHAPTER XXI.

SIR JAMES CARNAC'S VISIT, AND SOME ACCOUNT OF THE
BAHÁNDARÍ SYSTEM—THE END OF SAYÁJI RÁV'S OPEN
CONTEST.

Sir James Carnac, Bart., was made Governor of Bombay for the express purpose of bringing to an end the disputes with the Baroda Darbár, as it was justly imagined that his long connection with the Gáikvád gave him exceptional experience.

On the 6th August 1838 the Government of Bombay, finding that it could not by any other means gain Sayáji's ear, suggested to the Government of India that the district of Petlád should be sequestered, after notifying to the Mahárája that one month would be granted him to give satisfaction to all the British claims or demands. The Right Honourable Governor General in Council approved of the suggestion on the 30th August 1838, and added that, if the adoption of the above course should fail in bringing the Gáikvád to his senses, he "should be deposed and his son elevated to the Ráj in his stead, provided his character gave fair promise." Petlád was sequestered on the 1st November 1838, as the proclamation on the 5th of the same month made known to all, because "after many years of useless discussion His Highness had been

"granted one month, within which period he was "to satisfy certain demands. The demands had "not been satisfied, and so the district had been "sequestered: if in two months more compliance "had not been made, the district would be wholly "forfeited." On the 12th February 1839 the Government of India caused it to be notified that, as far as regarded Sayáji Ráv, Petlád had been "absolutely and entirely forfeited."

But on the 28th November 1839 Sayáji Ráv came to the Residency and addressed Mr. Sutherland "in "the terms and demeanour of a suppliant, at times "bending his head down in token of submission: "taking up the corner of his garment and spreading "it out, he begged the protection of the Resident, "while he joined his hands in an attitude of supplication, and begged forgiveness for the past." Truly, the long contest was now at an end, and in the years 1840-41 the 28 "demands" were all or nearly all satisfied in full, though some few were perhaps somewhat slurred over. It was no doubt hard and yet satisfactory work for that noble Resident, Mr. Sutherland, to obtain the fulfilment of the orders of his government and of the promises of His Highness, work which he was not permitted to complete. It is sad to relate that during those years of trouble no less than three Residents in succession died at Baroda, within a period of seven years; the veteran Mr. Williams in November 1837, Mr. James Sutherland, who succeeded him, in June 1840, and Mr. W. S. Boyd in August 1844, all three brave men and good officers.

Within this time, that is, on the 26th January 1841, Sir James Carnac came to Baroda to make all matters safe, and before the 8th of February his settlement, this time a satisfactory one, was completed. After His Highness had promised not to oppress any of his subjects in the lately sequestered districts of Petlúd and Nausári, Sir James Carnac directed the withdrawal of the attachment from these districts, and on the 1st February 1841, from the Gáikvád's tributes in Káthiávád, the Mahí and the Revá Kánthás. He also restored to Sayáji Ráv the ten lákhs of Rupees deposited (1832) in a British treasury as security for the punctual payment of the Contingent. But, as is related in the chapter on the army, the Gujarát Irregular Horse, raised in March 1839 as a punishment on Sayáji for the ill condition of his Contingent, was not disbanded; and, as Petlúd had now been restored and that body of Cavalry had been paid out of its revenues, His Highness consented to pay three lákhs yearly for its maintenance. He would, indeed, have infinitely preferred to have got rid of this military burden altogether, and both during the visit of Sir James and later, his entreaties to be spared this tax, which he considered a disgrace, were most piteous. But the Mahárája of Baroda was subjected to the imposition till the accession of Sayáji's second son Khande Ráv.

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If the settlement effected by Sir James Carnac admitted of a fuller treatment, notice would be drawn not merely to the 28 demands of the Government of Bombay, but also to the 36 counter demands of the Mahārāja, which the Governor promised to take into consideration. Advantage was also taken of this time of settlements to come to an understanding on several vexatious points. It had hitherto been the custom for the British authorities and British Troops at Baroda to take part in the Ganapati and Dassará festivals: but it was now resolved that any participation in the religious side of the processions ill-suited the profession of British officers and soldiers. Much to the disgust, therefore, of the Mahārāja, it was ruled that in future these should be drawn up in some selected spot and should give the usual honorary salute to the Mahārāja's person only. It was also now ruled that for the future the Resident should not accept aher, or gifts of dresses of honour, from the Mahārāja, or present him with similar tokens of friendship.

A blow was also struck at a custom already dying out, which, nevertheless, signified progress. The benevolent Sutherland, while Resident, heard of the self-immolation of the widow of a Ratnágiri Bráhmaṇ, and he ceased not to bring the fact to the

notice of his Government and of Sayáji Ráv till, on the 13th of April 1840, His Highness consented to issue a proclamation whereby the abetment of sati was made punishable by law, and the example thus set was speedily followed by the chiefs of the Revá Kánthá. We may here state that this really progressive step was followed by another a few years later. In March 1847, a British subject living in the Baroda camp, a Koki by caste, sold his daughter, who was six or seven years of age, to a man of his own race, but without the consent of his wife, and then made off with the money. A fresh case followed, and then a stir was made which resulted in the prohibition of the sale of Hindú children to Mussalmáns, and also of any sale without the express permission of the Huzúr (26th June 1849, *vide* also Art. 9 of the treaty of 1805 and Reg. 14 of 1827). While on this subject it may be noticed that on the 24th May 1853, the High Court of Directors instructed district officers to refuse to surrender fugitive slaves and fugitive wives, and to refer claimants to the Civil Court. A certain check or supervision was thus placed on the practice of mild slavery. It must, however, be allowed that children sold as slaves in Baroda were well treated, and occupied, as it were, the position of house servants for life.

Having now described the settlement whereby the long struggle between Sayáji and the Bombay Government was closed, it remains for us to dwell more particularly on that sore point which was the real source of irritation to the two parties. What

the Bombay Government had long felt most keenly in the Mahārāja's conduct was his cruelty to those of his subjects who held the British guarantee that they should be safe from the tyranny of the Gáikvād. What Sayáji for twenty years had resented was the fact that an influential portion of his subjects was protected by the British, and was therefore tempted to set his authority at naught. So the most pressing of his counter-demands was the 25th, which prayed that "the persons holding the guarantee should be strictly ordered to obey the commands of the Sarkár and to perform their duties." Again, when urged to respect the guarantees by Sir James Carnac, he retorted with the request that "these men should be enjoined to treat him with respect and not to forget that, after all, he was their sovereign." Later on the Governor confesses that, "the possessors of our guarantee have in many instances presumed on their right to claim our interposition, and have been wanting in that respect and obedience which they are bound to pay to the Gáikvād as their sovereign." And at this distance of time we can easily see how the assumption by the British of the Arab guarantees, gave them immense opportunities of interfering between the Gáikvād and the foremost of his subjects; how the guarantee of an Arab mercenary must have differed from that granted by a resistless government, not only in extent but also in duration; how at first this difference was not clearly perceived, and the Gáikvād, for his own convenience, readily

granted to his subjects the right to appeal to the British as the security added to his own power of coming to an accommodation; how the fact that the guarantee was extended to State creditors, ministers, and relatives, joined the Bahándarí system to the strict supervising policy adopted by the British with regard to financial and political State questions; how when these questions were solved or changed in nature the guarantees survived; how for a length of time the British, seeing the power the Bahándarí system gave them, were prompt to extend their protection over those holding the guarantee; how, later on, the evils of the *imperium in imperio* thus created were revealed, and the difficulties of deciding between the Gáikvād and his often worthless subjects were seen to be enormous; and how, finally, the British cast off with a wrench their connection with these men as rapidly and completely as a consideration for their plighted word, now most carefully interpreted, would allow them.

Volumes have been written on the Bahándarí system, and the correspondence regarding certain protected individuals is enormous: a brief account of some particulars is therefore all that can be inserted here. Two or three guarantees preceded the expulsion of the Arabs; one was granted to the Desái of Nausári in 1793 as has been stated, a second to Rávji Ápáji by the agreement of the 29th July 1802, a third to Malhár Ráv, the Jágírdár of Kadi, after the Kadi war, which lapsed when he escaped to Káthiavád, rebelled, was made prisoner and exiled. Rávji's

guarantee alone deserves notice. It was hereditary, but, as has been related, the emoluments only and not the office of Diván were continued to his adopted son Sítárám after his fractious behaviour in 1808. On Sítárám's death (1823) his son Náráyan Ráv continued to hold the guarantee that a nemnúk of 60,000 Rupees should be paid him, but the guardians of his son forfeited all protection by trying to pass on the Resident a forged version of the treaty of 1802. Even after 1842 Mr. Ogilvie and Sir R. Arbuthnot interfered to preserve some villages, erroneously believed to be private property, to the family; but Colonel Outram dissuaded the Government from doing anything further for the house not only of Rávji who had befriended the British, but of Sítárám who had done so much mischief.

On the 26th December 1802 the Arabs were expelled from Baroda, and it was expressly stipulated by them and those whom they protected that the British should take up the guarantees they had granted. This gave the Honourable Company an enormous power of interference, "and established a connection with the monied men from which the Company "have reaped much benefit; but for the time the "Gáikvád did not mind this, for the step, as the Resident wrote, deprived the Sardárs of a powerful "means of controlling the Government." And it should also be explained that the Arab guarantees were of two kinds—one for the due payment of money, the other for personal security—and that the breach of an engagement made by the Sarkár

was held to absolve the giver of the guarantee from "his duty as a subject, the Arabs presenting many "instances when to enforce guarantees they filled "the Darbárs of the Rájá and the minister, and "held their persons in rigorous confinement."

The British did "not maintain the system in force "to the same extent as prevailed during the (anarchical) dominion of the Arabs. The guarantees "were for the most part confined to loans raised for "the purpose of relieving the Baroda Government "from embarrassments." But there were exceptions, "the guarantees granted to Rávji and his "adherents in return for the aid which they had "afforded the British in accomplishing their views in "Baroda." Unfortunately but naturally these men expected that, as they had rendered the British Government good service in the past, they and their descendants would continue to be protected in the future, whatever their shortcomings towards the Gáikvád might be. It has therefore been properly said "that no guarantees were so calculated to make "mischief as the hereditary ones, which not only "extended to persons and property, but guaranteed "the continuance of office to particular families."

With regard to the period during which these guarantees were granted by the Bombay Government, it is sufficient to note that all but one or two date previous to the year 1819, and that before that time, while the State was ruled by a Commission of which the Resident was the prominent member, no complaints were raised regarding them. Be-

tween 1819 and 1828 only one guarantee was extended, that to the two illegitimate sons of Anand Ráv. Nevertheless during the early years of Sayáji there was a tendency in the British officers to consider the guarantee as hereditary, and in the Mahá-rája to irritate these officers by treating those who were under protection with extreme harshness. In 1828 the Government of India arrived at the conclusion "that the bahándarí engagements were no "less objectionable in principle than embarrassing "in practice, and that they were glad to learn that "the Government of Bombay had laid it down as an "established principle to clear itself as soon as "possible of the guarantees to existing loans, and "to contract no more pledges of such a nature "in future." When Sir James Carnac made his settlement, 20 guarantees had lapsed; but 17 hereditary and 9 personal ones were still extant, the former securing personal protection, situations, nemnúks, property, trade, vatans, and rights to certain families; the latter pensions, nemnúks or provisions for life. In 1849 Captain French, officiating Resident, strongly recommended that many of the bahándarí engagements should be held to have lapsed, and was successful in the case of the Shástrís, and of Máneckchand Rupchand. "The supposed immunity from punishment enjoyed by possessors of "the British guarantee was," he said, "most noxious, "and worse protégés than Dhákji Dádáji, Bábab Náfa-da, Balvant Ráv and Govind Ráv Gáikvád cannot "be imagined." In 1850, accordingly, the Court of

Directors recorded that "the condition of good conduct on which so many of the bahándaris depended, "had not been enforced with sufficient strictness," and in 1853 determined that "the guarantees granted "by officers of Arab troops were in their nature "temporary." Following the same line Outram brought many of the engagements to an abrupt end: he translated the important word *chálú* as "running" and not as hereditary, and the Court of Directors accepted his version in 1856.

We have already seen that the guarantees passed by the Arabs, and taken up by the British, were of two kinds. The first mentioned was that loans made to the State should be repaid. It need scarcely be again mentioned, as the story has been already told, how from time to time the British stood security for the *Gáikvād* that he would repay vast sums of money. In 1803 there were owing to the guaranteed bankers 56 lákhs of Rs.; in 1807, after great reductions had been made, a new loan raised the guaranteed debts to over 71,25,000 Rs. The subsequent difficulties of the State which were considered by Mr. Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, and Lord Clare, together with the wranglings, sequestrations and settlements which ensued, have been also related. We pass to guarantees of the second kind, *i.e.* of personal security and so on, just touching on certain salient points that it may be understood what sort of people these British protégés were, and why they irritated the *Gáikvād* and troubled their protectors.

Káhándás Patel of Dárupurá, and Bháichand Desái of Baroda held a guarantee from the Arabs which was chálú; and in the case of the latter Mr. Willoughby, interpreting the word as "running," would have deprived the holder of his protection in 1827 for gross misconduct, but was not allowed to do so. Mr. Williams made the guarantee of the former hereditary through some mistake, but in 1855 the holder was held guilty of conspiring with other bankers and the minister of the Rájpiplá State to defraud the Rájá of that country of a lákh and a half of money, and so lost his protection. In the time of Ánand Ráv, the Arabs had guaranteed personal protection to the house of Khúshálchand Ambaídás. In 1848 a claimant to the property of the house named Dámodar was found guilty of using forged evidence, and it was made over to another claimant, a lady of the name of Jamá Báí, though she too had forged. The Mahárája objected to the transfer because Dámodar had won him over with a heavy nazaráná, and after all Jamá Báí almost lost her guarantee for maltreating and imprisoning Dámodar. But perhaps the only real hereditary guarantee passed by the Arabs was to Sundarji, the Desái of Balsád, who adopted a son, Shankarji, before his death. Twenty-two months after his decease, his widow gave birth to a son whom she put forward as heir. Litigation ensued, and the firm of Khushálchand Ambaídás, which had advanced money to Shankarji's natural father, seized the property and the guarantee. But Gangá-

dhar Shástrí afterwards got hold of the document, and it was with difficulty that the Resident obtained it again from Sayáji Ráy. Finally, when the Arabs were being turned out, the two paymasters, Sámál and Mangal Párekh, obtained temporary guarantees. The latter having managed, however, in 1802 to obtain from the Governor, Mr. Duncan, "the hereditary favour and protection of the Honourable Company at Ahmadábád, Dholerá, Surat and Bombay, against any unjust attack or claim from the English or Gáikvád Government," without, in all probability, even the knowledge of the reigning Gáikvád, the Bombay Government thought itself bound to keep the promise it had made.

The other guarantees had no relation to the Arabs, but some concerned the family of the Gáikvád. Daulat Ráy Gáikvád, the son of Kánoji, obtained British protection, and did not forfeit it when his father rebelled against the State: but he was partly insane and given to drink. In 1832 he murdered his wife in a jealous fit, he was then confined in irons for eight years and died in 1857. Of the guarantees granted to Mukund Ráy and Morár Ráy Gáikvád when they returned to their allegiance after aiding in the Kaḍi and Sankhedá wars and after taking refuge with the Povár of Dhár, no mention need be made; nor of those extended to Dariá Báí, and Umed Kúnvar Báí, wives of the Mahárája Anand Ráy, and to his illegitimate son, Gappat Ráy, nor of that given to Fate Sing's wife and adopted son, Rádhá Báí and Govind Ráy. The mere

fact that the British Government for a time extended their protection over the two last mentioned persons whom Sayáji believed to be plotting against his gadí and his life, is enough to account for his hatred of the whole Bahándarí protection.

Allusion has been made to the guarantee of Subhánji Pol and no mention of it need be made here. Let us, therefore, turn to those granted to ministers and their families in continuation as it were of the account of that foolish support given to the family of Sitáram, the treacherous minister. A full account of the protection afforded to the arch-trickster Dhákji Dádáji has already been related, but in this place it may again be called to mind. Allusion has also been made to the fate which overtook Bháskar Ráv,¹ the adopted son of Viṭhal Ráv, the son of Bábáji Áppáji, and it has been pointed out that neither was this person deserving of any support, nor was the support given to him sufficient to save him from the persecution of Sayáji and Veníram. No Government could protect a fool from the effects of his own folly. The last guarantee ever granted by the British was the worst of the whole series; but as it has been alluded to elsewhere, passing mention only need here be made of Viṭhal Ráv Divánji, whom Sir John Malcolm took under his special care and protection, when that minister was held by his sovereign to be a traitor and conspirator, and to whom he granted a guarantee against the direct wish of his sovereign. There remains the family of the Shástrís, the descendants of Gan-

gádhār Shástrí, most unfortunate of men ! The officers who supported their cause either forgot to sign their guarantee, as Captain Carnac, or left the country at the very moment of securing them their rights, as Sir John Malcolm and Lord Clare : for a time their rights were recognised (1840), and the Bombay Government itself paid them arrears for ten years, but in 1843 British protection was partially withdrawn. When the sanad was drawn up it was granted to the wrong party, as to Bhímáshankar instead of to the whole family ; when their claims were again and again investigated, they were found so obscured by what had been granted, what retracted, what granted again, that the assistance they got from the British was pretty well worthless. The case of one high officer of the State may also be mentioned here. In 1828 Náráyan Ráv Mahádevá Mazmúdár received a guarantee which was forfeited by him in 1858, because, as Sir R. Sakspear represented, his behaviour to the Gáikvád was "disrespectful and contumacious and he set himself "up in opposition to the ministers." It is needless to remark that earlier in the century the holder would not thus have lost his guarantee.

Besides members of the Gáikvád family and ministers, certain bankers received the British guarantee. The trouble caused by one of this class of guarantees was extraordinary, and, as it regards a prominent Baroda firm, may here be mentioned. In the eighteenth century Harí and Bhaktí, two sons of a Bániá of the Visálád caste, grew rich in transactions

with the Baroda and Poona Courts. These men had a sister to whom three sons were born, Nandlal, Samal, and Dulabh, the second of whom aided his uncles at Baroda, and the third at Poona. When the uncles died, Dulabh endeavoured to obtain the property, but Bhakti's widow vindicated her rights, and adopted Samal, who thus became sole heir in 1803. In 1809 his widow, on his death, adopted Bechar Samal, and this person got a guarantee in that year and again in 1820. He died in 1845, and entrusted the management of his property to a rogue named Babá Nafada, already mentioned as the accomplice of Dhakji Dadaji and the object of the Bombay Government's aversion, though by his position as agent to the House he also was entitled to the benefit of the guarantee. In 1849, Bechar's second wife, Jotí Bái, charged him with embezzlement, when he in turn accused her of putting forward as her own a supposititious child, and later, on the death of this infant, of substituting in its place another spurious child. He then had Jotí Bái imprisoned, and kidnapped the infant, which died. Colonel Outram investigated the case, which had been tried by a one-sided panchayat, and was strongly impressed with a notion that the lady had been wronged, but while the investigation was proceeding, he was forced to leave Baroda on account of bad health. Captain French took up the case and was persuaded, according to Colonel Outram, by the Native Agent at the Residency, Narso Pant, whom he distrusted as much as Captain French relied on him, and who was Babá

Náfadâ's friend, that the latter was in the right. But after a time Colonel Outram returned, re-opened the whole matter, and, in spite of the adverse decision of a second panchâyat, brought such light on the case in 1850, that the Gâikvâd imprisoned Bâbâ Náfadâ for seven years and fined him 15,500 Rs. The story is told that it may clearly be seen that the granting of guarantees to the Gâikvâd's subjects often caused a useless amount of trouble, that the holders were often not worthy of consideration, and that the apportioning of justice to people who knew not what truth and honesty meant, often led to the strangest mistakes in the dealings of clever and up-right officers.

In the next chapter we shall see that the prolonged maintenance by the Bombay Government of the Bahândarî system was held responsible for the existence of corruption and intrigue in the State. And for the more prompt reform of this unsatisfactory state of things, the political supervision of Baroda was transferred by the Honourable Court of Directors from the Government of Bombay to that of India.

Note ¹, p. 222.—Bhâskar Râv is still alive, and stands at the head of the darakdârs.

CHAPTER XXII.

END OF THE REIGN OF SAYÁJI RÁV—REIGN OF GANPAT
RÁV—KHATPAT.

Much has been said of the influence for good or bad exercised by the Mahárája's Minister; but something remains to be told of the part played by the Resident's Minister, so to call him, the Native Agent to the Darbár, as well as by the subordinate clerks in the Residency office. Much has been said, also, of the open opposition of the Mahárája to any interference in financial and political questions, but something has yet to be related of the devices to which the Darbár unfortunately thought it necessary to have recourse when the open contest was ended; of bribery; of secret prying into the intentions of the rulers of the stronger Government; something, too, of the secret parties which took the place of the one once openly recognised as being under British protection, and devoted to the so-called British interests.

This is the matter which now appropriately comes under consideration, though it is no new matter and no break occurs in the continuity of events. Gangádhār Shástri and Dádáji were native agents of great importance; spies and news-mongers had been employed by the State, probably from its earliest

days ; bribery was ever a recognised weapon in politics. Sitárám, we remember, used to obtain from Bombay the most secret records of the Secretariat, Dhákji Dádáji was supposed by Sayáji to be able with money to influence the Governor, the Secretary to Government, and other notables. But in the days that followed the break-down of Sayáji's open opposition, intrigue reigned supreme in the Baroda Darbár, till, at last, all Gujarát believed that every Englishman had his price, till the good name of the highest officials was at the mercy of the meanest of rogues and tricksters. Great was the power of khatpat, but greater the power of Sir J. Outram, who slew it with fierce energy, at the risk of his life, and in the face of the opposition of his own fellows and superiors, who could not see the extent of the evil.

In note 3, at page 196, we quoted Sir John Malcolm's criticism of native agents. "Henceforth," he concluded, "there should be no native servant at the Residency of a grade to give him the appearance of any influence. None were required but clerks and accountants, and all news-mongers and informants should be discouraged." This was certainly a praiseworthy resolution, but, unfortunately, it was not carried into effect. It sprang from a knowledge of the zeal or supposed influence of the Nágár Bráhmaṇ, Sárábhái, whom Sayáji believed to have conspired with Viṭhal Ráv to elevate his son to the gádí in his place. Colonel Outram was of opinion that this man was strongly

supported by relatives and caste-fellows, who filled all the high native appointments in British and Gáikvád Gujarát, that he acted in collusion with the Gáikvád and his Darbár, and that he grossly misused the enormous power he was thus able to wield. ¹

Venírám Áditráam boasted that it was he who had persuaded Lord Clare to order the dismissal of Sárábhái after his visit to Baroda. Whether this be true or not, Sárábhái's power remained in the family. About the time when Mr. Sutherland was transferred from the scene of his beneficent labours in Rajputáná to the Court of Baroda, Outram, who loved to call him his master, was appointed Assistant Resident in the Mahí Kánthá. Here, by the way, he rapidly distinguished himself by the manner in which he gained the hearts of the lawless hill-men, raising up from their number an efficient police corps. In 1837 Outram convicted of a gross piece of rascality, and dismissed one of the Residency clerks, the accomplice of Sárábhái's brother-in-law, Brijlál. But he did not succeed in bringing home a charge he made against this very Brijlál, who had become Sárábhái's successor, and who managed thoroughly to hamper Mr. Sutherland in his work. In 1838 it was, accordingly, thought fit to depute Mr. Malet on special duty to investigate the condition of the Political Commissioner's establishment. Mr. Malet was unable to expose any one, owing to the power and close collusion of the Nágara Bráhmans, the Gáikvád and the State bankers; but he recorded "the disgraceful

“extent to which the names of high British functionaries had been made use of.” In 1838 a clerk named Ánand Ráv was suspected of taking bribes, but not caught. Soon after, however, his brother Dádo Pant was found guilty of the same offence and dismissed, and again later on, a clerk named Motí Lál. This was by no means Motí Lál’s first offence, and the rogue by false representations had obtained the removal of a British officer from Rájpiplá: yet he, too, like the others, was merely dismissed, nor was any public censure passed on him. The Bombay Government, scarcely realizing the extent of the insidious evil done by these men, required full and ample proof of guilt before passing sentence, and the punishment inflicted was so mild as to have no deterrent effect on others. Brijlál, the Native Agent and the centre of all the corruption, escaped, as we have said, in 1837; but the next year he was found out in a fresh case, and requested in the usual mild way to leave the service on the 20th of September 1838. Mr. Evans, the head English clerk, was discovered at the same time to have been implicated in several intrigues. But the real gain from the exposure which occurred was the fall of Sárábhái’s brother-in-law and the break-up of the Nágár Bráhmaṇ clique.¹ This, be it remembered, was the time when Sayáji was making his monster attempt at bribing Sir James Carnac through Gopál Ráv Mairál and Dhákji Dádáji, and also Mr. Willoughby through Motí Lál and Bháú Puráṇik, as has been mentioned

at page 178. This is the time when Venírá́m Ádiṭ-rám and Bá́bá Náfaḍa were the two most influential people in Baroda, the latter being the manager and quasi-master of the great House of Harí Bhaktí in which His Highness was a sleeping partner.

Mr. Sutherland died at his post in June 1840, suddenly and in suspicious circumstances, but the cause of his death was ascribed by Dr. Arnott to apoplexy. Outram had, before this, been summoned away to take part in the Afghán war. Mr. Boyd, in August 1840, took up the work of reform with less vigour or greater moderation than his predecessor. At least so thought Sir James Carnac and Sir George Arthur, the Governors of Bombay, who were now intent on pushing the results of the "demands" to their legitimate conclusion. When, therefore, Gopál Ráv Mairal's attempt to bribe the Governor came to light in 1843, the Resident was instructed to admonish and reprove both the Mahá-rája and his adviser.

Mr. Boyd's term of office was not a long one, for he too died at Baroda in August 1844, and Sir Robert Arbuthnot was nominated his successor. But in the interval which elapsed before his arrival, while Mr. Ogilvie, the able First Assistant, was not in charge, Mr. Remington officiated, and Mr. Remington did not go the whole way with Outram in his views. He virtually deprived of his appointment a person in whom Outram placed great faith. This was Vinayak Moreshvar Fadke, an inhabitant but not a native of Baroda, who had come to that town

to push some claims on behalf of a female relative of his, the daughter of Harí Fadke, the late commander-in-chief of the Peshvá Bájí Ráv's army. Bábá Fadke had lived at Baroda for six years, and had gained the ear of the Mahárája, when in 1836 he was expelled from the city owing, as Outram believed, to the machinations of Venírám Áditráam. He then for a couple of years recommended himself to the Assistant Resident by exposing many rascalities, and was finally successor to Motí Lál Purshotam. It was he who managed the sequestered district of Petlád: but Mr. Remington distrusted and, as we have said, dismissed him in 1844.

Meanwhile, on the 21st of July 1843, Harí Lál, the Native Agent, was dismissed for corrupt practices detected by Mr. Boyd, and two men applied for the vacant post. One was the Fadke just mentioned, the other was an old Government servant named Narso Pant, and this man was finally chosen. Now this Narso Pant was either a relative or a caste-fellow to Bábá Náfaḍa, Ganesh Pant, the Fadnavís and Dádo Pant, the dismissed public servant. Impelled by family interests and won by bribes, Outram believed that this new Native Agent soon began to betray his masters.

Sir Robert Arbuthnot transacted the work of Resident from July 1845 to April 1846, when he had to retire owing to ill health, and for the next thirteen months Mr. Andrews, Judge of Surat, acted in his place. Unfortunately for him, a little later on Outram discovered among Bábá Náfaḍa's papers or

accounts an item of a bribe to certain low people who had some private influence with the Acting Resident. Though there was no reason for believing that Mr. Andrews knew anything of the matter, this gentleman took much to heart the suspicions cast upon people with whom he was acquainted. The vexation and worry into which he was subsequently dragged attended him to his grave.

Colonel James Outram succeeded Mr. Andrews as Resident in May 1847, and on this occasion remained at Baroda for nearly a year and a half. But for the moment let us put aside the consideration of his career to record the death of the Mahārāja Sayāji Rāv on the 28th of December 1847. Much has been said in blame or at least in criticism of the reign of this the most remarkable of all the Gāikvāds. Here, then, let it be allowed that he did more than any to increase the power of his House, and that he was respected and beloved of his people. Some there are who will not allow that he was mistaken in his policy or guilty in his acts. If he was parsimonious, it was to render the State solvent; if obstinate, it was because at that time the British Government was grasping. He was not merely in the right, he was also successful in carrying out his views. After many sequestrations and agreements, he got back all his country; and though he still had to pay three lākhs a year for Roberts' Horse, the burden was to him a trifle at which he laughed in his sleeve, while he appeared to be overcome with shame at the disgrace. In

reality he retained the lordship over his army, his Sardárs, the moneyed men, the ministers and every party in the palace, while he drove the British to abandon by degrees all interference with the State. This is what some people affirm, but it would be wise also to consider how far the gulf he created between Baroda and the British Government led, first to the abandonment of even friendly criticism, and then to a very decided reaction and a searching inquiry into the manner in which the Native State had conducted itself during the period it was left to itself.

Sayáji Ráv had five legitimate sons, of whom the four eldest were born to him by his first wife Ohinná Báí, and three illegitimate sons. The heir to the gádi was of course Ganpat Ráv, then about 30 years of age, for the second son, Khande Ráv, was some 10 years younger. The latter was subsequently Rájá, because Ganpat Ráv's son died in May 1847, and he in his turn was succeeded by Sayáji's fourth son, Malhár Ráv, because he died leaving no heir, and, previous to his death, the third of Sayáji's sons, Anand Ráv, had also died.

Ganpat Ráv was in every respect a contrast to his father, but in one matter he compares favourably with his next brother, in that he was not addicted to lavish expenditure. Some years before his accession Mr. Ogilvie had written of him that he was "weak, dissipated and indifferently educated, "that he was not on good terms with his father, whom "he had intrigued to supplant." But in 1851 Colonel

Outram slightly tempered this criticism ; he thought him weak indeed, but not ill-intentioned, though undoubtedly too much under the influence of his minister.

As reference has been made to the want of education in the Mahārāja, it may be as well to remember that since the days of Dámáji, no reigning Gáikvád had left Gujarát except to appear at Poona, and that, confined within their little State, the Gáikváds were suffered to ignore the great world outside save in so far as a few narrow and crooked Maráthá politics bade them look to the immediate past of their nation for guidance in the very much changed present. Captain French, Acting Resident, records how he persuaded the well-meaning Mahārāja to read some books, to abandon the notion that London was somewhere south of Calcutta, and to purchase an expensive toy in a model steam-engine. Later on he travelled ; next Khaṇḍe Ráv proceeded in state to meet H. R. H. the Duké of Edinburgh in Bombay, and finally his young adopted son not only went there, but to Delhi also, and the great towns of Hindusthán. The consequences of Khaṇḍe Ráv's extended information have been given in this book, but what will come of Sayáji Ráv's still more liberal training is yet beyond conjecture. The isolation, however, of the Gáikváds from the outside world up to quite a recent time was greater than can now be imagined, and the instrument by which they were suddenly brought into contact with it has just been hinted at. Captain French presented the Mahārāja with a toy-engine, and the same officer greatly promoted the introduction of rail-

ways into Gujarát, which have since effected a complete revolution in the trade, politics and customs of the State.

In 1853 a party of engineers began to survey the country between Bombay and Gujarát with a view to laying down a rail-road. When work was commenced at Surat it was found necessary to make the line pass through Baroda territory, and negotiations had to be opened with Ganpat Ráv. In 1856 His Highness readily surrendered in full the land required for the rail, stipulating only for the payment of compensation to the owners of *private* (not khálsá) land, and for protection against any loss which might accrue to Baroda revenue in transit duties. These stipulations were of course accepted, but though the claims for compensation made by owners of private land might be and were satisfied, the matter of indemnity to the State for loss in transit duties proved difficult to settle. In 1859, Khande Ráv agreed to receive from the British Government year by year compensation for proved loss in transit duties. At the same time it was only fair to compute the correspondingly large gain to the Baroda State accruing from the increase in customs duties which followed the introduction of the railway and the consequent augmentation of exports and imports, and it was hard to strike a balance. The present Administration has abandoned all claims for indemnity for loss in transit duties.

The Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway

was thus started, (the first train running in 1860,) but not with the State money, nor were the advantages the State reaped from the undertaking direct in any way. On the contrary, it surrendered its sovereignty over the land set aside for the Railway line, and consequently its rights to civil or criminal jurisdiction within the limits of that line. But indirectly the advantages derived proved to be great; so that when in 1877 the British Government determined to extend the Railway from Ahmadábád to Rajputáná, the present Administration granted the land required in Baroda territory free of all cost to the British Government. Full jurisdiction, short of sovereign rights, was also given over such land so long as the railway might last, and the right to tax through traffic was surrendered. The line thus extended between Ahmadábád and Páhlánpúr is constructed on the metre gauge.

Besides aiding the British Government to construct the great line, His Highness the Gáikvád (1872-73) converted a tramway into a railway line of 20 miles in length between Dabhoi and the Miyágám or Karjan Station on the B. B. and C. I. The cost of the line was either Rs. 3,73,400, or, according to some computations, Rs. 4,02,109; the gauge is the smallest in India, as it does not exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Even in 1876-77, on the most favourable reckoning, the return on the capital invested was not much over 2.50 per cent. Yet small feeders to the trunk line are felt to be so useful for the opening up of

traffic in a country where the cheap construction and maintenance of roads is impossible, that Rájá Sir T. Mádeva Ráv has resolved to connect Dabhoi with Bahádarpúr on the east, Chándod on the west, and Baroda on the north-west by these narrow gauge lines. These useful extensions, which will be $35\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length when completed, are likely to cost about Rs. 6,83,398, and the work is at the present moment proceeding rapidly.

After this unavoidable digression, let us return to the political history of the State. We have noticed how Mr. Remington, while officiating at Baroda, obtained the dismissal of Fadke, how Narso Pant was made Native Agent, and how Colonel Outram returned as Resident in the State where he had ten years before served as assistant to Mr. Sutherland. For a time Colonel Outram thought well of Narso Pant, but subsequently suspected him of withholding certain important papers relating to a false claim for three lákhs of rupees made by his friend Bábá Náfaḍa on Govind Ráv Gaikvád. Then followed Bábá Náfaḍa's second attempt to ruin Goráji Pol, whose estate he was managing or rather mismanaging, and again Colonel Outram thought the Agent was playing into the Bábá's hands. The Resident therefore once again availed himself of the advice of the disgraced Fadke, and obtained from him assistance in unravelling the Goráji Pol case and that of Joṭí Báí Sethání. Unfortunately, whether Colonel Outram was right or wrong in his views, while the latter case was still pending the

Resident was forced to leave Baroda and to go to Egypt to recruit his shattered health.

Captain French then acted for him from October 1848 to May 1850, and every step taken by Colonel Outram was reversed. Narso Pant was fully trusted, the Mahārāja Ganpat Rāv was cordially allowed to deprive the Fadke of his appointment, and Bábá Náfada was supported in his machinations against Joítí Báí. In short Captain French took an opposite view of the state of parties in Baroda to that held by Colonel Outram. It would be useless here to attempt to decide on the merits of the men who at this time had power enough to influence the Mahārāja and the Resident; their ways were crooked and their objects equally self-interested. Colonel Outram's fame as a soldier and his zeal and boldness as a political officer have distinguished him among all his contemporaries; but Captain French, though he, like so many others, differed from Colonel Outram in his views, was nevertheless an admirable officer whose name is gratefully remembered in Baroda to this day.²

In May 1850 Colonel Outram returned to Baroda, and with his wonted rigour re-asserted the wisdom of his opinions concerning the men of Baroda and the prevalence of intrigue. Captain French was blamed for having permitted the expulsion of Fadke from the city, as he held a British guarantee. The case of Joítí Báí v. Bábá Náfada, which had been decided against the former party by a packed pan-cháyat, was retried, the villany of the Bábá brought to light, and his guarantee withdrawn. Narso Pant,

the Native Agent, was brought to trial before a Special Commissioner, Mr. Frere, and after a patient investigation, which lasted from June to October 1851, one out of seven charges was proved against him. He had "betrayed his official trust in mis-leading Colonel Outram," but was nevertheless only "removed from his present employment and considered ineligible for re-employment." At the same time four subordinate clerks were ordered to throw up their posts in the Residency office.

Then Colonel Outram, on the 31st April 1851, sent in his Khatpat Report to the Bombay Government, in which he blamed that Government for not taking more stringent measures to overcome the bribery and corruption which were destroying the Baroda State. This Report led the Governor of Bombay in Council, that is Lord Falkland and Messrs. Blane and Bell, to inform the Resident that he had better leave Baroda. Accordingly Colonel Outram took a month's leave on the 21st of December 1851, and on the 20th of January 1852 his place was taken by Mr. J. M. Davies. In the month of July of the same year, however, the Honourable Court of Directors passed in review the whole of Colonel Outram's career as Resident and, while noticing the absence of proper respect in the Khatpat Report, they concluded by praising "the zeal, energy, ability and success with which inquiries had been prosecuted attended with great difficulty." They hoped, therefore, that Colonel Outram would once more be trusted with high employment, and,

as we shall see, he did return to Baroda itself for a short time.

Colonel Outram wrote his Khatpat Report in April and left Baroda and India nine or ten months later. In the meantime one or two curious incidents occurred. In September 1851 a letter was conveyed to the Resident purporting to be from the minister Bháú Támbekar to the Mahárája's brother and heir apparent Khande Ráv. It contained these alarming words : "Arrangements are being made to "carry out what occurred to Fate Sing Maháráj; "you wait a little." The doubt was whether this was the production of the minister or a forgery perpetrated by Bába Fadke. It caused a great amount of heart-burning, but eventually the Mahárája, who after ejecting Fadke had recalled him to Baroda, sided with Bháú Támbekar in quashing that too clever man : and, when Colonel Outram wished Ganpat Ráv to re-consider the position he had taken with regard to Fadke, His Highness earnestly remonstrated. The other strange occurrence was this. Colonel Outram stopped certain letters at the Post Office on his own authority, and caused the persons to whom they were addressed to open and read them to him. It then transpired that the old trick practised by Baroda Darbár officials of purchasing the secrets of the Bombay Council was still being vigorously kept up.

Mr. J. M. Davies was Resident from January 1852 to June 1853, when he fell ill, and his work was then carried on by the officiating Resident, Mr. G. B. Seton Karr, from June 1853 to March 1854.

We have read the opinion at which the honourable Court of Directors had arrived about Colonel Outram. It was then resolved that "measures should be taken for correcting the impression which recent information has shown to be widely prevalent among the natives on that side of India, that the proceedings of Government may be effected by the employment of undue influence, personal or pecuniary, at Bombay." Lord Dalhousie carried out the wishes of the Court of Directors by re-appointing Lieutenant-Colonel Outram to the post of Resident (24th February 1854), in spite of Ganpat Rāv's kharitā begging that any other person might be sent in his stead, and by directing him once more to weed the Residency office, to abolish the post of Native Agent, and not to re-employ Bābā Fadke.

Lord Dalhousie had indeed been directed to take charge of the relations between the British Government and the Baroda State. In vain the Bombay Government pointed to "local difficulties of detail and the great intermixture of the territories of Bombay, of Baroda, and of numerous chiefs tributary, some to Bombay, some to Baroda." "Nearly," retorted the Governor General, "nearly the whole of the business which is transacted between the two governments arises more or less directly out of the peculiar position of those subjects of the Gaikvād who hold the guarantee of the British Government, and it is out of this class of business that those abuses and attempts to carry on a system of corruption have sprung."

Yet, to anticipate events, the remonstrance of the Bombay Government was a reasonable one. On the 17th of November 1859 the India Office wrote to H. E. the Governor in Council a letter necessitated by the confusion which took place in settling an outbreak in Okhámandal, to be described in the next chapter. "It appears to Her Majesty's Government that the system under which the whole of our political relations with Baroda are conducted by your Government has not worked well. These relations are so intimately connected with those of Gujarát generally, that they ought not to be disunited geographically. Baroda should be administered by the Bombay Government, and it should be remembered that it was only placed directly under the authority of the Government of India for special reasons and circumstances which ceased to exist on the death of their Highnesses Sayáji Ráv and Gappat Ráv." Whether they had ceased to exist or not a few more years were to show : for the present it is enough to note that, on the 17th of November 1860, the Resident, Major Wallace, was directed to take his orders in future from the Government of Bombay. That Government was then warned "to take full precautions against the revival of the notorious system of intrigue." One remark made by Khande Ráv to the Government of India on the occasion should be recorded to explain the state of parties then and in Gappat Ráv's time at Baroda. "I am sorry to hear of the change, as the people who are friends of

"Bháu Tāmbekar, and others like them, on account of enmity, will attempt to avail themselves of this opportunity to take their revenge."

The remark leads us back to Colonel Outram's re-appointment at Baroda and the events which thereupon ensued. From the time of Sir James Carnac's visit to the Gáikvād, the Mahārāja Sayáji Ráv had fully availed himself of the permission given him to rule without any accredited Diván. For some years he did all the work himself, and Ganesh Sadáshíva Oze, an assistant in the Fadnávis department, was merely a sort of secretary to His Highness. But, till his death, he employed as his confidential advisers, Bápu Argade, Bába Náfade, Gopál Ráv Mairál, Sakharám Pándurang Rođe, and above all Bháu Puránik. About a year after his death Ganpat Ráv Mahāráj once more instituted the post of kárbhári or minister, and bestowed it upon Viṭhal Khaṇde Ráv, better known as Bháu Tāmbekar, of whom men still speak well, though he did not please the British Government. It was supposed that he was the author of the kharitá addressed by Ganpat Ráv to the Governor General, and begging that some other person than Colonel Outram should be appointed Resident. It was ascertained that he had persuaded Ganpat Ráv to believe that Colonel Outram would have him removed from the gádí and would cause Khaṇde Ráv to be proclaimed Mahārāja in his place. This prince, then called the Áppa Sáheb, was not on good terms with his brother, he had lately written

to the Government complaining of him, and the old affair of the letter in which His Highness, his brother, the Minister and Fadke were concerned was still fresh in the minds of all. Now Colonel Outram was directed to demand of Ganpat Ráv the dismissal of Bháú Támbekar.

But the Prince loved his Minister, and his dismissal seemed a personal disgrace to himself. The first interview between the Resident and the Rájá took place on the 20th of March 1854, but it was not till after days passed in doubt and disgust that Ganpat Ráv parted with his friend. How often has the scene been repeated at this Court from the time of Sáyáji and Dhákji Dádáji to the time of Khande Ráv and Bháú Shinde, of Malhár Ráv and Náná Sáheb Khánvelkar. As usual, in this instance the dismissal was but an outward act. Ganpat Ráv Maharáj consented to take Govind Ráv Rođe, the brother of his father's adviser Sakháram Rođe, into apparent favour, though he had been in disgrace since last Colonel Outram had left Baroda; but he pointedly refused to nominate a new minister, and retained Bháú Támbekar as his confidential adviser. Colonel Outram, never afraid of proceeding to extremities, broke off all communications with the Maharája, and it was not till the 12th of April that, ascertaining that Bháú Támbekar and his partisans had really been dismissed, he consented to enter on friendly relations with His Highness. A few days passed (5th May 1854), and Lieutenant-Colonel Outram was called away to a still more important

post than that he held. The war with Russia was imminent, and Outram was selected to take the command of Aden, where the highest political and military functions were united in his person. Colonel Outram was succeeded by Major Malcolm, who was Resident from May 1854 to November 1855. Major Davidson next filled the post from February 1856 to March 1857.

Nothing of special interest, however, occurred during these years, and on the 19th of November 1856 His Highness Gaṇpat Rāv Mahārāj died.

Note ¹, pp. 228, 229.—Of the 84 divisions of Gurjara Brāhmaṇs the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs were the most striving, though the Audichya, (Audh = North) sub-divided into (1) the Siddhpura, (2) the Sihor, and (3) the Tolkiya Brāhmaṇs (with others), were the most numerous.

Of the Audichya Brāhmaṇs, worshippers of Shiva, something has been said in the body of this history. Muhrāj collected 1,000 Brāhmaṇs from various parts of India, and on one half he bestowed Sihor and 100 villages, on the other half Siddhpura and 100 villages, and on a small ṭolī or band of recusants of his dānā Khanbhat (Cambay) and 12 villages. So goes the story, though the Brāhmaṇs are older than Muhrāj and Sihor may be Sinhapur, the capital of the ancient Sinhas of Gujarāt.

Colonel Outram feared and hated the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs, and mistakenly derived their name from Nāg (the serpent,) while it comes from Nāgar. But he was not in error as to their skill and ambition. General LeGrand Jacob wrote of them: "The Nāgars, "community is very powerful in the peninsula of Kāthiāwād, " (increasingly so after Baroda was freed of them,) they are by profession a corps diplomatique, and devoted to the arts of government. They are a shrewd race, and work their way into "almost every darbār by their ability and tact." This is true of that portion of the Nāgars who give themselves up to lay ambitions, and more especially so of the Vadanagar Brāhmaṇs, as one

sub-division composed of Smártás and a few Vaishnas is termed. The Vadanagar class keeps itself a little aloof and ahead of the Vishalnagar Bráhmáns, who claim to have been founded by Visaldevá, the first of the Vághelás, whose accession dates circa A. D. 1192, and to whom the Sáthodre Bráhmáns and others ascribe their foundation. Venírám A'ditrám belonged to the Vishalnagar caste.

Of the Modhá Bráhmáns (Modháná near Siddhpura) and other less important classes there is no room for mention in this brief history. Nor need we point out here that, since the arrival of the Gáikvád into Gujarát, the numbers of Deshasth and Konkanasth Bráhmáns has much increased, and that "they are now in social and religious fellowship with the respective castes in the country from which they take their name."

Note ², p. 238.—If we look upon Sutherland and Outram as Residents who, by shere force and energy of character, were determined to utterly stamp out rascality, and who a little despised the national peculiarities of those with whom they had to deal, and if we may suspect some of their successors to have been too tolerant of shortcomings and abuses, we cannot reckon Captain French as belonging to either class.

He was quite as zealous as Colonel Outram in pointing out the evils of the Bahádarí system, but, while the latter disliked giving support to a body of worthless men, the former objected to the system itself because it seemed to him a political engine for hampering the Gáikvád. In all matters he strove to discover how far he could take the Mahárája and his followers along with him on the path of progress: there possibly was, therefore, in his time a period of peace, a cessation of intrigue, a healthy attempt at reform, such as has not been seen since or, at any rate, not till the present Administration came in. He persuaded the Mahárája to educate himself a little, to visit Bombay, to make roads and plant wayside trees. In his time the camp was connected properly with the city, bridges and seráis were constructed, a design was prepared to connect the capital with Tankáriá Bandar by a tramway, and to build a dharmasála at that place, and to make a road from it to Mandála. A regulation was passed to check infanticide among the great class of Levá Kunbis in the Petlád and other

parganás, to reduce the expense of their marriage ceremonies, and to banish from them Bháts, Chárans and professional beggars. The sale of children without the consent of the Darbár was prohibited, a first step was taken towards the introduction of vaccination, restitutions were made for robberies, and criminals from British territories were given up. At the same time Captain French urged the Government of Bombay "to meet the Darbár half-way in concession, that it might not assume a cold sulky position fatal to its stability, but might become a friendly confiding ally, leaning on the dominant power by seeking its counsel and following its example."

CHAPTER XXIII.

KHANDE RÁV MÁHÁRÁJA—OKHÁMANPAL.

Ganpat Ráv Máhárája left no legitimate male issue, and was therefore succeeded by the eldest of his surviving brothers, Khande Ráv. Unlike the brother who preceded, and the brother who succeeded him, "he was a man of bodily and mental energy, sometimes self-willed, was very shrewd and observant, and took a large share in the administration, had a mind open to kindly impressions, and was actuated by generous impulses." So wrote the Resident at the opening of Khande Ráv's reign, but the remark requires amplification. Of his bodily energy and physical strength there is no doubt; he loved all games, he was passionately fond of hunting. But it is possible for a prince to indulge too far even in manly exercises; the palace at Makarpurá was erected at a great expense because of its propinquity to the deer-preserves, and the deer-preserves were jealously guarded to the detriment of many people. It is also undoubtedly true that the prince was gifted with mental energy, and that he was shrewd and observant; it might have been added that he had a retentive memory, and other good mental qualities; but it must also be admitted that he had been trained in the

imperfect way of his predecessors. His willingness to enter on a new course, to remodel the army, to reform the revenue and the judicial system, to start great public works, and so on, served therefore rather to point out the direction which reforms should take than to inaugurate a revolution which to be useful or permanent required to be radical. Unfortunately, also, two things were wanting to this prince that his reign might be a beneficial one: his ministers and advisers were incompetent men, and some of them were bad men; and his own aspirations were for display rather than for the attainment of solid advantage to his people. It is quite true that he had generous impulses, but these not seldom led to a lavish expenditure of money; and if he grandly rewarded personal friends and retainers, or afforded a great but transitory amusement to the people of his capital by a pigeon marriage or some such extravagance, the permanent results of his actions were exceedingly small. It is well to remember this, because, as will be seen, what has often happened in history happened to Govind Ráv's family. One man paid the penalty not only of his own shortcomings, but, of those of his predecessors as well. It is not a gain to be the heir of a princely line, or the representative of a system, if there are vices in the line and faults in the system. Malhár Ráv began his reign well, and the Sur Ságar tank, the High School, the other schools of a more indigenous type which he fostered, should count to his credit. True, Malhár Ráv persecuted his brother's family and followers,

but Govind Ráv, Kánoji, Sayáji had given him precedents, and great as his faults had been, the confinement at Pádra had been long and severe. Placed suddenly in the light of day before the eyes of all men, Malhár Ráv's deeds seemed extraordinarily wicked, but it had not been the wont of the British Residents at Baroda to expose the shortcomings of Gáikvád princes, and some of Malhár Ráv's deeds had been done before.

These remarks seem necessary because it is by connecting events that their true value is found; and yet they are reluctantly made, for, though the end of Khande Ráv's reign is marked by reckless expenditure, some acts of cruelty, and a general deterioration, the beginning was good, and the prince was a man, bluff and hearty, and liked by many. Nor is it intended to lay all the faults of Khande Ráv's reign at the door of Khande Ráv.

Whatever else may be omitted in this brief history, one of Khande Ráv's early acts must receive prominent notice. Soon after his accession the great Mutiny of the Bengal army took place, and for a time the very existence of British power in India seemed in danger. Of all the princes in the land none showed himself more loyal and more zealous to co-operate with the English than the Gáikvád.

In 1857 the British regular troops were withdrawn from Gujarát, and the turbulent classes in the Mahí and Revá Kánthás imagined an opportunity had arrived for creating a great disturbance. But Khande Ráv so employed all his available

strength in preserving order that Sir Richmond Shakespeare wrote, "the Contingent was kept up in "a state of thorough efficiency, they have had "an extraordinary amount of work, attended with "much fatigue, exposure and expense to themselves, all of which they have cheerfully done." The nature of the service rendered and the reward which followed it in 1858 may be gathered from the following extract from a Resolution passed by the Government of India:—"In consideration of "the unswerving attachment and active assistance of "H. H. the Máhárája Khande Ráv, without which "our hold on the whole of Western India would "have been most seriously compromised, the exaction "of the annual sum of 3 lákhs for the maintenance of "the Gujarát Irregular Horse, a fine imposed on "Khande Ráv's father in 1839, and considered in the "light of a public disgrace, was remitted with "retrospective effect from the date of His Highness' "accession." In addition to this material benefit, Khande Ráv was, at his own request, presented with the morchals or fans made of peacock's feathers, and in a sanad dated March 11th, 1862, the right of adoption was conferred upon him.

The disturbances which attended the great struggle in Hindusthán were not confined to the Mahí and Revá Káuthás, but spread to Okhámāṇḍal as well. We shall now permit ourselves a wide digression to explain how these happened.

OKHÁMANḌAL.

At the western extremity of Káthiávád, bounded

on the South and West by the Indian Ocean, on the North and East by the Gulf of Kachh, and on the lower half of the East side by the Raṇ of Kachh, lies the isolated little province of Okhāmāṇḍal, a strip of country 30 miles long by 15 broad.

The air is healthy; the soil is rocky and unfruitful; till quite lately a thick jungle concealed its surface; the coast is indented with bays and creeks. It is little wonder that this remote province has for centuries been the home of a bold and hardy people, little given to agriculture, for which there is small scope, but much addicted to wrecking and piracy, for the futherance of which practices nature has given the Vágghers bays and creeks and curious caves and an impenetrable jungle.

The Vágghers, though they like to call themselves Rajpúts, were the original fishermen and boatmen of Okhāmāṇḍal, who by a marriage rose in the world. This was the way: once the land was held by the Hadad and Chávada Rajpúts, who, falling out, called in the Ráthod Váder to judge between them. This the Ráthod did in a way: for he took all the country himself, and his brother-in-law, a Járejá of Kachh, married a woman of the low Vággher caste. The sons of the Járejá man and Vággher woman formed a new family, the Máṇek Vágghers who, as we say, called themselves Rajpúts.

Okhāmāṇḍal was not conquered by the Musalmans till 1446. But in that year Mahommed Sháh Begada overran the land, destroyed the temple of Jagat, broke its idol, and in its place erected a

masjid. Just as happened later, the poverty of the country and the pluck of its people long kept off the foe, and, just as later, the blow came at last to avenge a piracy. A learned molví of Samarkand was spoiled by the pirates of Sankada, and the arm of the great Mahommed reached this distant spot to avenge the injury.

By degrees the rule of the Musalmáns passed away, and in 1774 we find the renewed rule of the Ráthod driven back to behind the Raṇ by Meru Khavás, Jám of Navanagar, the same who helped a certain Bábáji to take the fort of Positrá. This Bábáji had usurped Beṭ from the infant son of his brother, the chief of Árámaḍá, and from his hands it passed into those of the priests of the temple. In 1807 there were six chiefs in Okhámaṇḍal—the Váder chief of Árámaḍá, the Positrá chief, the chiefs of Beṭ and Dhinge, the Bayád of Múlá Mánek who possessed Dvárká, and the Ráv of Kachh who had a little fort. Some of these had already irritated the British by acts of piracy, but in 1807 the chief of Beṭ promised to mend his ways. Positrá, however, gave much trouble, and had to be blockaded by the "Zephyr" in 1809. The same year all the chiefs promised the British Resident to abandon piracy and pay compensation; nevertheless they returned to their old ways the next year, and though in 1814 they actually did pay a third of the compensation agreed on, they did not cease to give trouble.

Determined to put an end to the nuisance, the Bombay Government sent Colonel East with a

small force to subdue Okhámāṇḍal, a task he easily brought to a successful issue with some slight assistance from Gáikvād troops. In 1817 Okhámāṇḍal was bestowed as a free gift on the Gáikvād, who would of course be proud to be the guardian of one of the most celebrated shrines in India. At the same time it should be remembered that the Gáikvād undertook to pay up the balance of the compensation due by the pirate chiefs, the expense of the occupation since the conquest, and to manage a country full of pirates, the annual deficit of the revenues of which varied from 25,000 to 40,000 Rupees.

A rising took place in 1818, a serious rebellion in 1820 to subdue which British arms had to be called in, and in 1825 a fresh disturbance. In 1857 the chiefs complained that their pensions were not regularly paid by the Gáikvād government, and, though some settlement was made about it by Lieutenant Barton, they rose at Vasáí in February 1858 and seized Bet without opposition, for the Sibandi were on their side. Lieutenant Barton again came to Okha, and after occupying Bet, handed it over to the Gáikvād, for he had been ordered to withdraw the small force he had with him, and leave the Gáikvād to settle matters with the Vághers.

A settlement was arrived at in December 1858, up to which time the Vághers had held the Gáikvād troops at bay from behind the thick túr hedges of Vasáí. But the settlement was a sham one; the

Vághers had got to despise His Highness' army, and when they were told that the Mutiny of the Bengal Army had overpowered the British, they promptly rose against the Gáikvád in 1859, took Bet and Dvarká, and drove the Gáikvád authorities away into Káthiávád.

The Sibandi having proved indifferent if not treacherous, Kharde Ráv wisely placed the affairs of Okhámándal entirely in the hands of the Bombay Government. A tedious campaign ensued. Bet was evacuated on the 6th October. Dvarká, after standing a siege for several days, was abandoned on the 31st. The scene of action was next transferred to the jungle; and, finally, the Vághers took up a strong position outside of Okhámándal on the Abhápura Hill of the Bardá range in Káthiávád. From this place they were dislodged by Colonel Horner on the 18th December 1859, and the war came to an end. After this a British officer was appointed to command the local battalion at Dvarká, supervise the Vágher population, and correspond with the Resident at Baroda. But the collection of revenue and the conduct of the administration continued to be left to the Gáikvád's officers. Unfortunately in 1862 some Vágher State prisoners escaped from confinement, and, returning to their country, created great disturbances. They did not cease, in fact, till the 29th of December 1867, when Dey Mánek and his followers were almost exterminated on the Mancherdá Hill; or, to be more accurate, till 1868, when Múlá Mánek was surprised and killed near Rámpúr by the Por-

bandar Sibandi. These two men were the nephews of the old chief Jodhá Mánek, who had headed the rising in 1859 and been killed in the Gír jungles. They were able to keep up their vexatious disturbances so long, because the country in which they lived was well known to them, and was of a most difficult nature; because, too, they were supported, not only by the brave Vágher bárvaṭías (outlaws), but by all kinds of malcontents from Okha and Káthiávád; and because the Sibandi or native irregular troops of the chiefs of Káthiávád either feared to meet them, or were secretly inclined in their favour.

By this time the Vágghers were considerably reduced in numbers, nor is it probable that they will ever break the peace again. There are even indications that the quieter Vágghers are taking slowly to cultivation, and the country is not quite the jungle it was. It is to be regretted that such severe measures had to be taken with a people small in numbers but gifted with many fine qualities, and that there was applied to them a policy both weak and irritating, but at the same time occasionally and intermittently supported by British arms.

A.D. 1868.]

CHAPTER XXIV.

KHANDE RÁV MAHÁRÁJ (*continued*)—THE ARMY.

Thus, in the early years of his reign, Khande Ráv heard a good deal and saw something of war. He himself was at heart a soldier, and it is not to be wondered at that he attempted to reform his army by the introduction of European or half-caste officers, of regular drill and of uniform appointments. But these innovations should have been accompanied by a vigorous onslaught on the old useless system. Such a step, however, it was difficult to take without offending an influential class. And yet, unless it was taken, the strain would be great on the revenues of a State which had ceded territories for a subsidiary army, which was bound by treaty to keep up a contingent force that for political reasons it was hard to reform, and which had at the same time to maintain a body of Sardárs who were of course dependent on the continuance of a primitive order of things.

A brief account of the Gáikvád's army should find a place in this history ; for, after all, it must be borne in mind that when the first Gáikvád settled at Songad, he was nothing but the lieutenant of the Dábháde. It is true that his son usurped the authority of the Senápati, but still he was but a

Maráthá leader of Maráthá irregular cavalry. If he rose subsequently to be a Maharája, he did so with the assistance of a body of men whom one might have expected to see sharing his good fortune and becoming by degrees lords of large estates and powerful councillors of state. Yet this is not what happened. As the Gáikvád rose the Sardárs fell, and at the present date one figure alone stands prominently forward, while the military class has fallen far into the background.

1. *The State Cavalry.*—At the head of the Gáikvád's army should be placed the págá svárs. The Ain Huzarát Págá, the corps entrusted of old to Piláji, and therefore entitled to bear the Zarí Patká, the Nishán, and the State Nagará bestowed on the head of the house by Sháhú, Rájá of Sátará, comes first among these. It is under the direct command of the Gáikvád. Next in rank are the Huzarát Chándí Págá and the Patkí Págá. The first two Págás were sub-divided by Sayáji Ráv, and seven of these lesser bodies were converted into Khás Págás, in which the relatives of the Gáikvád obtained commands.

2. *The Cavalry of the Sardárs.*—In the front rank of the military class should be placed those siledárs who, mounted on their own horses, accompanied the Gáikvád from the Dakhan, and above all the descendants of Ekoji and Náráyanji Pándhare, who seem to have been the first partners of Piláji and Damáji Gáikvád. These men, of whom the Pándhare Rájá, the Ghorpade Rájá, Mír Sáheb and the Jád hava

Rájá may be mentioned, keep págás of their own, are treated with distinguished honour, and have a fixed pay. The rájás, like some members of the Gáikvád family, are excused from attending the muster roll; the three Mírs, if they lose a horse in battle, are indemnified for the same at a fixed rate of Rs. 500.

3. *The Foreign Troops.*—After a time the Gáikváds employed foreigners to assist them; first in small and then in large numbers, first to guard thánás and the gates of conquered towns and forts, and then in every possible way. Of the leaders of the Sibandi the most famous were Amín Jamádár, Bachá Jamádár, Rágho Rámchandra, and Kássam Kále. No special mention need be made of the infantry before Khande Ráv's time, as it was altogether unusual for the Gáikvád to use any but cavalry. But it may be noticed that the infantry, which was chiefly employed in doing garrison duty, was for the most part composed of foreigners. The complete inability of the Maráthás to conduct a siege has often been illustrated in this history, and allusion has been made to the political power obtained by the Arab mercenaries through their possession of all the military posts in the State.

4. There were also *Ekondies*, men separately engaged with their own horses, but under no particular leader. And there were and still are the *Bárgírs*, men hired on small pay to do the duty of soldiers who drew the full salary, the most humble and therefore, perhaps, the most useful of the Gáik.

vád's troops. Let us state at once the reason which prevented the military class from ever obtaining any great political power. From the outset its members received their recompense in money payments, that is, in well paid military posts or commands of págás which were handed down from father to son. Of land either in perpetuity or on some condition of service, very little was bestowed on them. This was a most fortunate circumstance for the ruling Gáikvád, and one that made Major Walker's task a comparatively easy one, when the Rájá, after subsidizing foreign troops, agreed to break up his own army. As soon as the prince had allied himself with the British, the military class was virtually at his mercy. Sayáji could with perfect impunity break any Sardár whom he suspected of obeying the British rather than himself: and he did so repeatedly, till the quarrel between him and the Bombay Government induced the latter to notice his policy. Sayáji's sons made such sport as they pleased of the wretched Sardárs, till they were reduced to insignificance. In truth the military class was doomed to dwindle away as soon as the days of plundering and of conquest passed: their work was over: scientific warfare replaced 'desultory marauding expeditions: they might draw their pay as long as some other authority gave it, but against artillery, against regular infantry, amidst successful sieges of forts and towns hitherto reckoned impregnable, these irregular cavalry leaders were useless. From the time when the British stepped

on to the scene, the highest service a Gáikvád trooper could do was escort duty or police duty : and no Sardár has ever learnt to be anything but a trooper.

It would not be accurate, however, to assume that the decay of the military class dated from the moment British troops were subsidized ; it long preceded that step, which was the consequence of military as well as civil anarchy in the State. Dámáji, the rival of the Peshvá, could summon at need large armies to carry out his designs, and it is no exaggeration to say that in his time five-sixths of the revenue went towards paying the Poona tribute and to the maintenance of the military class, while almost up to the end of his reign an uninterrupted series of wars conduced to the gradual extension of his rule and the increase of the number of petty tributary States. At the time of his death, however, the Baroda State, after a third defeat, was forced to give in to the Bráhmaṇ party. Next, a family quarrel weakened the house of the Gáikváds, while Gujarát became the scene of a long struggle between the Poona Court and the growing British Power. Fate Sing did not spare the adherents of Govind Ráv, and Govind Ráv, when he ascended the gádi, turned off all but his own friends.

Fate Sing, when he had got rid of his brother, reduced the army as much as possible, but he took the first fatal step of entertaining a small body of foreign military adventurers. Govind Ráv, to

strengthen his position, added to their number; and the Parbhú minister of Ánand Ráv, in the midst of terrible factions, learnt to lean still more on their aid. It has been recorded that Govind Ráv had of these mercenaries nearly 8,000 foot and 2,000 cavalry, for whom he paid more than a láksh and a half per month; but Rávji Áppáji paid or owed every month nearly three lákhs for over 13,000 foot and nearly 4,000 cavalry. These mercenaries included Arabs, the descendants of Arabs, Sindhis, Makránis and Hindú Pardesis; and we have already seen that they exercised an immense control over the administration. It may therefore be imagined how low the original military class had fallen. And, owing to internal dissensions, there was no strength left for military enterprise, or rather for the remunerative and not very dangerous mulúkgirí. As we have seen, although the Gáikváḍ had obtained the lease of the Ahmadábád farm and was consequently without a competitor in Káthiáváḍ, for the five years preceding Bábáji's expeditions nothing had been extracted from the peninsula. Yet the mulúkgirí was not merely the end for which the Maráthá military class lived, but it was as well the means by which it was supported.

One more point must be noticed, though it cannot be dwelt upon. The Maráthá invaders of Gujarrát were few in number and they came from the Dakhan. As long as the tide of conquest pushed them onwards, the Gáikváḍs could easily procure fresh supplies of soldiers from their native country,

but there followed a period of stagnation in Gujarát and perhaps a falling off of military enterprise in the Dakhan. Then the stream of Maráthá adventurers dwindled away; the bulk of the population over whom the Gáikváḍ ruled was not a warlike one, as in some countries where Maráthá rulers have established themselves; and recourse was consequently had to foreign mercenaries. By the bulk of the population it should be understood that reference is made to the inhabitants of the great Gujarát plain. The hill tribes, the Bhils and the Kolís, aided the earlier Gáikváḍs to eject the Moghul, but afterwards they naturally became their enemies. The jágirdár of Kaḷí and Kánoji obtained their assistance without difficulty when they wished to disturb the reigning prince. The Rajpúts of Káthiáváḍ in the same way never were subdued or conciliated: and if the Baroda State required assistance, it had to go further afield to obtain it.

The subsidizing of a British force was, we have said, the result of anarchy, military as well as civil. In Govind Ráv's reign and during the early years of Ánand Ráv the military class, though useless, swallowed up a large proportion of the State revenues. The Arabs cost about 36 lákhs a year; Bábáji's new Sibandi 12 lákhs; the Siledárs and Páḡás 20 lákhs; and there was besides a fictitious item of 15 lákhs supposed to be expended on fortifications. Such at least was the state of things soon after Major Walker's first arrival at Baroda, and

for some years before that date all that can be safely said is that the nominal cost of the army exceeded the total revenues of the State. The manner in which the Arab force was broken up after the siege of Baroda has been already told. But it yet remains to describe how, in order to effect the reduction of 1802-3, the arrears due to the troops had to be paid off. Over 19 lákhs were raised by a British loan, and over 21½ lákhs were borrowed from bankers in Baroda under British guarantee.

Major Walker's instructions had been to reduce the State army to the level of Fate Sing's time ; but this he was unwilling and perhaps unable to do. For, firstly, the influence the military class still possessed was great. Some prestige it was vainly hoped would be won by getting a Gáikvád auxiliary force to join in the Málvā campaign, after the danger springing from the vicinity of Sindia and Holkar's vast armies to Gujarát had passed away. It may however again be noticed that just as the Gáikvád's troops could not have done much to defend the country if an invasion had taken place, so the Málvā auxiliary force returned to the Baroda State, mutinous and disgraced, dangerous only to the administration whose salt it was eating, fit only to prosecute a mulúkgirí in the Mahí Kánṭhā.

Secondly, for five years no tribute had been raised in Káthiávád ; the British, while the great wars in Central India were being waged, could not spare a single soldier ; better, therefore, in Major Walker's

opinion, to allow Bábáji to retain all his troops and even add to their numbers in order that he might collect the sums of which the State stood in such need, till the time might come when the British could step in to effect a permanent settlement.

Finally, before further reductions could be made, more arrears had to be paid. In 1803 and 1804 Bábáji's army cost 27 lakhs a year, and in 1807 it cost still more. During the years first mentioned he had 8 guns, 100 artillery lascars, 40 barakhs, 456 Arabs, 684 Hindustánis, 7,200 infantry and 5,240 horse, though of the latter the Resident reported that not 2,000 were fit for duty of any kind, and, of those who were fit, not half would be efficient in action. In 1807 Bábáji's army was still larger, and Colonel Walker calculated that in that year the cost of the whole army of the State was Rs. 42,97,372.

But by 1807-8 the British had found themselves in position to interfere in Káthiávád and to settle that country to their pleasing; the mulúkgirí was become a thing of the past; the late conduct of the State army in the Málvá war entitled it to no consideration; Sítarám's power of opposing reform was broken; and finally a great loan had been raised wherewith to pay off at one blow all the debts of the State, including the arrears due to the troops. These arrears were supposed in 1804-5 to amount to over 38½ lakhs, and in 1807 to the monstrous sum of Rs. 73,42,528.

Well, in 1807-8 all arrears were paid off, and

		Colony Walker boasted that the military expenditure had been reduced by
	Rs.	
Siledárs	10,40,213	nearly 20 lákhs of rupees.
Sibandí.....	7,20,235	At an expense of 24 lákhs,
Págás	6,39,574	of which only about 5½
Total.....	<u>24,00,022</u>	lákhs were paid in the
		shape of landed jaidád, the

State was held to possess 7,952 horse and 8,693 infantry, of which force three-fourths served in Káthiávád and the Mahí Kánthá. It had been Major Walker's intention to reduce the expenditure to 12 lákhs; but he never got lower than the figure mentioned in the margin. And it now remains to tell how the cost of the army kept ever increasing, how the pay of the troops once again fell into arrears, how the Gáikvád had to entertain a Contingent Force, how this necessity led to a great quarrel and a heavy punishment, how, in short, a bad and expensive army became worse and ruinous.

Ten years after Colony Walker's reduction of the Gáikvád army, the Peshvá entered into a contest with the British power which ended in his destruction. In a previous chapter have been detailed the gains which accrued to the Baroda State from the fall of Báji Ráv : here we must notice the ill effects of that event on the army. An addition was made to the subsidiary force: by the 8th article of the treaty of the 6th November 1817, the Gáikvád engaged to maintain "a body of 3,000 effective cavalry to act with the subsidiary force wherever it may be employed;" during the Málvá campaign a

Gáikvád force assisted the British arms, and the cost of the army rapidly increased with its numbers, while the pay of the troops was suffered to fall into arrears.

Of the Contingent Force alluded to mention will shortly be made, but at present it need only be said that in 1817, when Fate Sing was urged by the Bombay Government to reduce his army on the score that the subsidiary force had been increased, he refused to do so. He offered indeed to cut down the expenditure by 4 lákhs without diminishing the number of men, but that of course meant that he was willing to have a sham reform. He urged, on the other hand, that he was reluctant to touch the privileges of the military class, and the Bombay Government acknowledged that there would be difficulty in taking any step of the kind. Later on Sayáji Ráv made the same excuse, and it was accepted. And in 1819, when the Resident, seeing the embarrassment of the State, proposed that the annual expenditure on the army should be reduced from over $42\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs, (the enormous figure again reached,) to about 16 lákhs, the Bombay Government declined to sanction the proposal until they should be assured against the danger of disturbances from the disbanded troops. This increase in expenditure was partly the outcome of troublous times and partly of the so-called assistance given during the Málvá campaign and as late as the year 1823. Fate Sing, by the treaty of 1817, was bound to aid his British allies with 3,000 horse, (to act with

the subsidiary force,) and he did at one time get together nearly 3,000 cavalry, but the number was never kept up, and it would be safest to count them at 1,491 horse and 523 foot, maintained at an annual expense of about 17½ lákhs.

Págá horse	431
Siledárs.....	784
Sibandi.....	276
Total horse.....	1,491
Total foot	523

These troops were so irregularly paid that Sir John Malcolm had at one time to advance them 14 lákhs, and their general condition was so bad that the same

distinguished officer drew up a plan for their reform which Government rejected, on the ground that it took away too much patronage from the Gáikvád.

In the year 1820 it was discovered by Mr. Elphinstone that the Baroda State, then supposed to be nearly free of debt, was in reality much embarrassed. The larger portion of the sums then due sprang from the increased military expenditure: the Khosas war had cost 2 lákhs; 13 more lákhs were owing to the Párekhs for expenses in Málvâ, not to mention the 14 lákhs due to Sir John Malcolm; the arrears of the army fell a little short of 25½ lákhs, the Káthiâvâd Sibandi had not been paid for five years, nor had the troops employed in Rájpiplâ for three years. In short, if at that time the State owed 1,07,00,000 Rupees, the larger proportion was on account of the army.

These debts subsequently led to British interference and to confiscations, but soon after 1820 the Bombay Government determined to let Sayâji

Ráv manage the bulk of his army and the paying of the men as he pleased, turning its attention exclusively to the proper maintenance of the Contingent Force of 3,000 men. For the present, therefore, we may leave out of consideration the army of the Gáikvád taken as a whole, with a mere mention of its numbers in 1845. Horse Artillery 25 men, Cavalry (with Contingent) 5,750, Infantry (regularly armed and dressed) 575, Irregular Infantry (Sindís, Arabs, &c.) 3,425, Sibandi (who collected revenue and did police duty) 3,000. In all there were 12,775 men. It was at this time held that the city walls of Baroda were defended by 500 cannon, but most of these antique pieces have now been broken up or relegated to some safe spot by Sir T. Mádava Ráv. For cost of army, see page 318.

THE CONTINGENT FORCE.

It has been mentioned that by the 8th article of the treaty signed on the 6th November 1817 the Gáikvád government bound itself to maintain and hold at the disposal of the Company *to act with the subsidiary force wherever it may be employed*, and to be subject to the general command of the officer commanding the British troops, a body of 3,000 *effective* cavalry. His Highness was to conform to the advice and suggestions of the British Government relative to the formation and equipment of the contingent, its regular monthly payment, the condition of its arms and accoutrements, *according to the custom of the Gáikvád government.*

It is no secret that from the year 1817 to the

present date this agreement has not been fulfilled, and that its fulfilment has never been possible for very obvious reasons. The contingent was to act with the subsidiary force. But at the very outset between 1821 and 1823, that is, as the Gáikvád's forces returned from Málvá, they were drafted off to Káthiávád, to the Mahí Kánthá with head-quarters at Sádará and to Dísá; nor could Sayáji ever get them back to serve in the Baroda State, though by the agreement of 1820 the management of the tributary States was taken altogether out of his hands, on the condition that the tribute should be collected free of charge. The force was to be efficient. But Maráthá irregular cavalry never could be got to be efficient according to European notions. By exercise of great pressure on the Gáikvád's government, regular payment might be made to the force, but the suggestions of a British officer as to formation and equipment, arms and accoutrements, could not accord with "the custom of the Gáikvád government." Besides all this, two kinds of work were expected from the Contingent which never could be rendered at one and the same time. It might do police work and revenue work as well as escort duty of a slight kind and the carrying to and fro of messages and small parcels, but it could not at the same time be an "efficient" force of irregular cavalry. The Contingent in the tributary states has been of some use in the way first pointed out, but it has never been raised to the level of a military body fit to face an enemy or to quell the rising of a petty hill tribe.

British officers have for many years pointed out the shortcomings of the Contingent Force, and some of these may here be noticed, for they have existed from an early time in the whole of the Gáik-vád's army, and are not confined to any one body or any one period. It was, we have said, a fortunate thing for the Mahárája that he recompensed his military lords by hereditary posts and not by landed estates. The class was thereby easily broken up and deprived of political power, but it must also be allowed that, as a military body, it easily degenerated for the same reason. It became the object of the Sardár to get as much pay as possible for as little work. His págá was a long way off, and he lived at ease in Baroda. He drew the pay for the men, and, being generally in debt, made over the larger share of it to the Sávkár. He died, and his command was perhaps inherited by a minor or a woman, so that the work was committed to some clerk. As the Sardár was, so, as far as they could be, were all below him who had any influence at all. The work was done by substitutes; the post, however humble, was handed on from father to son without regard to fitness; the pay was shared with the Sávkár and the Kárkún. As the musters of the officers were slurred over, so too the humbler soldiers feared not inspections.

The history of the Contingent is briefly this. Year after year British inspecting officers complained of irregular pay, short numbers, poor horses and bad arms, till in 1830 Sir John Malcolm, finding that his request that two-thirds of the Contingent

should be placed on a fair footing were disregarded, deprived Sayáji Ráv of all authority over his own troops, and sequestered some districts for their maintenance, estimated at 13 lákhs. Sayáji Ráv retaliated by ordering his subjects not to obey the orders of Amín-ud-dín, the son and successor of the well-known Kamál-ud-din who had commanded the Málvá Contingent, for Amín-ud-dín put his trust in Sir John Malcolm. By these means Sayáji Ráv considerably diminished the Contingent, which had to be recruited from other quarters, and he made matters hard for the Bombay Governor by withdrawing the Sibandi police from the tributary districts, or at least by stopping their pay, which amounted to over 82,000 Rupees. It was contemplated by Sir John Malcolm or the Resident in his time to make fresh sequestrations, and Sayáji once again retaliated by withdrawing the tenáti force, (detailed on special duty,) from Káthiávád and the Mahí Kánthá, 1,117 horse and 709 foot, whose annual charge exceeded 4 lákhs, so that the Bombay Government was forced to entertain an additional force of 280 horse and 600 infantry, charged to mulúkgirí collections.

Hereupon Sir John Malcolm was succeeded by Lord Clare, who thought that His Highness had been very harshly treated, and contented himself with a promise that in future the Contingent Force should be efficient, and so restored the sequestered districts. It is true that on the 6th of April 1832, His Highness deposited 10 lákhs of rupees in the

British Treasury, on the understanding that that sum should be drawn upon if in future the pay of the troops fell into arrears. But Lord Clare did or said nothing to ensure to the Contingent their arrears, which amounted to 4 lákhs, or to protect from the wrath of the Máharája those Sardárs and men who had elected to obey Sir John Malcolm when ordered by the Gáikvád to return to Baroda. Now they suffered for their trust in the British promise of protection. The Naváb, Amín-ud-dín, was superseded by Ganpat Ráv Dhamdere, and the two other commanders of quotas, Mír Sarfaráz Alí and Hamíd Jamádár, were also dismissed, as was Ganpat Ráv Bápá, long commander of the 3rd Húzarát Pághá, while Bháskar Ráv Víthal was deprived of his pághá. The commoner sort was similarly treated, forced to return to Baroda, and then dismissed or made to pay a large nazar for having listened to the voice of the Bombay Governor. The newly levied men in the Contingent were at once turned away, and thus Sayáji's triumph was complete. It is well that when the British found that the Mahárája had not been really conciliated by Lord Clare's leniency they did something to soften the misfortunes of the men who had trusted in them between the years 1836-41.

After Lord Clare's surrender of all real supervision, the Contingent Force once again became a sham; even the pay of the troops was not regularly served out, though no man dared to make a complaint. So matters proceeded from bad to worse

till the Government of India, finding that Sayáji would do nothing to fulfil the treaty of 1817, issued orders on the 9th of March 1839 that a regiment of Irregular Cavalry should be raised, to be designated the "Gujarát Irregular Horse," consisting of 812 men under a British Commandant and Second-in-Command, and placed under the exclusive control of the Resident, with head-quarters at Ahmadábád. In 1841 Petlád was restored to the Gáikvád, and he agreed to pay for the maintenance of the Horse a sum not exceeding 3 lákhs a year. The disgrace and the burden were, as has been elsewhere stated, not removed till the time of Khande Ráv, nineteen years after the formation of the Irregular Horse. It may well be believed that when this punishment was passed on Sayáji the Contingent became a matter of less interest. In 1840 the Bombay Government did not demand of Sayáji that its numbers should exceed 1,500 horse, but Sir James Carnac now for the first time expressly stipulated that they were to be maintained "for service in "the tributary maháls," and not, as in the treaty of 1817, to act with the subsidiary force. To be sure Sayáji did not care whether 1,500 or 3,000 horse were the number required; the military class of his own subjects had to be supported and he could not reduce it. Perhaps, too, he long continued to hope that by keeping up the whole Contingent he might obtain a reversal of the decision concerning the Gujarát Irregular Cavalry. So the Contingent still stood at 3,000 horse, and as of old did useful police

and carrier work in the maháls. But when Khande Ráv came to the gádí, he began to talk of reducing the contingent to 1,500 men, much to the dismay of the British officials. He was still thinking about the plan when the mutiny broke out, but from that moment he did not say a word about reduction. On the contrary, he urged his soldiers to aid the British authorities in keeping the peace at a time when all the regular troops were withdrawn to the north of India and the wild tribes and classes of Gujarát were on the look-out for a disturbance. A year later the Gujarát Irregular Cavalry was broken up, and it was expressly promised by Khande Ráv that the Contingent should be kept up at its full strength of 3,000 cavalry, under the same conditions as had been stated by Sir James Carnac.

In the reign of Ganpat Ráv Mahárája the Contingent Force gave the British inspecting officers less to complain of; in 1861 Khande Ráv put 100 of each of the three quotas on an effective footing; in 1863-64 the force relapsed sadly, and when there were disturbances in Káthiá-váḍ and Okhámandal, it was found that the men were unfit for military as well as for police duties.

From this time to the day of Khande Ráv's death the Bombay Government kept urging reform, and the Gáikváḍ kept remonstrating that to be efficient the troops should have no miscellaneous work to do. The Bombay Government went so far as to say that a reduction to 500 efficient troopers would be a gain, but Khande Ráv protested that

the reduction of the army was fatal to the prospects of the military class. When Malhár Ráv ascended the gádí the Contingent did not improve, and in 1873 a Commission, appointed to inspect its condition by the Government of India, emphatically condemned the Contingent Force, for reasons which have been stated above. But Malhár Ráv again used Khaṇḍe Ráv's arguments, and drew attention to Lord Clare's hesitation in adopting any measure which should seriously curtail the authority, patronage and power of the Gáikvád, as well as greatly diminish the means of support for the Sardárs. So matters now stand.

REGULAR INFANTRY.

There were, we have stated, a few regularly armed and dressed soldiers in the time of Sayáji Ráv who were commanded by an Indo-Briton, Mr. Dunbar. The reform alluded to at the commencement of the chapter dates, however, from about 1858. Colonel Outram had been wonderfully successful in raising a local corps of Kolís in the Mahí Kánthá, and in imitation of this step some of the Vághers of Okhámaṇḍaḷ were enrolled in a regiment, that they might be won over from their evil courses (21st February 1861). But the Vághers could not submit to discipline, and in a few months returned to their homes (December 1862), Sindís and Belúchís being introduced in their place.

Rajpúts and Maráthá settlers were then allowed to enter the force, which in 1865 became known as the Okhámaṇḍaḷ Force. At the time (1861) that

the Okhámāṇḍal Force was first started, a local corps was created at Amreli and both were placed under European officers and received their orders from the Resident at Baroda. The last named body has since been termed the Dhárí Regiment or that in the Amreli Maháls, and is the fourth of the Gáik-vád's regular army. It was sent up to Amreli after

	Men.
Silver Gun Battery.	166
Horse Artillery	212
Rissálá.....	196
2nd Battery Foot Ar-	
tillery	172
3rd " "	173
1st Regiment High-	
landers ¹	594
2nd Regiment	594
3rd Regiment.....	594
	<hr/>
	2,701
	<hr/>

the rising of the Vághers in 1864, and there it has since been permanently stationed. In 1870 Khande Ráv's regular army numbered in all 2,701 men (omitting the fourth regiment), with a general, two colonels, a brigadier major, majors, captains, &c. The guns, cannon and small arms were

manufactured at Baroda, and Khande Ráv went so far as to buy some Armstrong guns, but they were repurchased from him by the British Government.

Khande Ráv, we have said, was at heart a soldier, and he made a real attempt to create an army, that is to say, to get together a body of men who would obey the orders of their officers. He also took the bold step of obtaining the services of British or half-caste officers, who were free to issue such commands as the necessities of military service might require. But Malhár Ráv cared less for the regular army. So in his time bureaucratic, or, to put it more simply, kárkun or clerkly influence was in the

ascendant, and the spirit of the State army suffered correspondingly. It is as difficult in Baroda to believe in any possible danger to imperial interests arising from a State army as it is easy to conceive that a very small military body just adapted to mount guard and to do escort duty should suffice for the needs of a State which is protected by a power whose arms it has subsidised. A reform which should add to the strength and discipline of the lately created police force at the expense of a useless army meets therefore with the approbation of all whose personal vanity is not concerned.²

Statement showing the strength of the Baroda Military force on the 1st of January 1879.

Artillery.—Guns.—There are said to be 34 serviceable guns, besides 2 gold and 2 silver guns, 22 toy guns for firing gulál powder, and 60 jingál or camel guns, which latter are serviceable.

	Total.	Grand Total.
<i>Equipment.</i> —154 gunners, (1) 71 Artillery horses and 64 bullocks ...		154
<i>Cavalry.—Regulars</i> 247 horse (1) and 22 mounted bandsmen (1)	269	5,573
<i>Siledári</i> 2,943 horse (2)	2,943	
<i>Other Irregulars</i> 1,683 (2) horse and 698 police	2,361	
<i>Infantry.—Regulars</i> 3,078 (1)	3,078	9,795
<i>Irregulars, tahisil</i> , 2,020 and 4,697 police.....	6,717	
Grand Total...		15,522

The Artillery and Regulars, numbered (1), cost the State about 7 lákhs a year.

The Irregular Cavalry, numbered (2), include the Contingent, and cost about 25 lákhs a year.

Of this sum about 10 lákhs go to the Contingent, and a large portion goes in *nemnúks* to the Sardárs. (*Administration Report*, 1876-77.)

Note ¹, p. 277.—Not only were the men dressed in Highland petticoats, but, that the impression made by their appearance might be more realistic, their nether limbs were clad in tight-fitting flesh-coloured drawers. The present administration has discarded this striking costume.

Note ², p. 278.—The Maráthás never, of course, employed a regular police force; the army roughly did the work of compulsion and repression requisite to keep the peace or to carry out the orders of the Magistrate. But this is not a mode which can long continue to exist. It is also sometimes remarked, in a general way, that the army does the police work of a State; but this cannot well be said of Baroda. In any serious riot or rising, the Gaikvād has the right to call for the assistance of the British Subsidiary Force.

One more remark may be made. It is a painful and tedious process to create a disciplined army, and the task cannot be achieved without costly sacrifices of time, money and attention, which may be more profitably or pleasantly turned in other directions. It is a process too which the slightest interruption suffices to deprive of all its value. But unless there is some great motive, how can it be hoped that there will be a succession of princes who will devote themselves to army matters. The motive, happily, does not exist; and there is nobody in the State which can supply the driving power required to keep the army going, if ever the prince relaxes his efforts.

CHAPTER XXV.

KHANDE RAV (*continued*)—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

We have left to this reign a necessarily brief consideration of the manner in which justice was administered in the Baroda State, in order that the subject might be taken as a whole from the beginning up to the present time of change, and because, during the rule of Khande Rāv and his immediate predecessor and successor, an effort was made to get rid of the old system for something better and more suitable to the complicated wants of modern society.

It is first of all requisite to remember that it is only a hundred and fifty years since the Gáikváds entered Baroda, that it is only a hundred and thirty years since Ahmadábád was taken and the Moghul rule brought to an end, that the Bábi family was not rooted out till ten years after the fall of the capital of Gujarát, and that Surat, Broach and Cambay were never wholly subdued. Between the time of the conquest over the Bábis and the alliance with the British, the Gáikvād family was continuously torn by internal disputes, and its fortunes showed signs rather of decay than of progress. The conquests of the Gáikváds were, therefore, intermittent, and their dominion over those portions of Gujarat which were overrun varied from complete ascendancy and

mastership to the mere right of levying tribute whenever an armed force could be despatched to collect it. It is no wonder, then, that in the wilder parts of the country their rule was of a much slighter nature than in the plains and round the chief towns. Such justice as they desired to administer could therefore be dispensed with more certainty in the latter than in the former sort of country.

But the Maráthás first entered Gujarát to levy tribute, and the hope of booty was their chief incitement to fight; they subsequently remained masters of a portion of the land, but the ruling passion continued to be the acquisition of either taxes or tribute. The laws to which they themselves were accustomed were not written, were founded on religious observances, were simple in nature and, as is usually the case with young societies, the penalties exacted on criminals consisted chiefly of fines. It is no wonder that the imposition of fines should continue to appear an excellent method; that the dispensation of justice should still be held a remunerative business, valuable chiefly on that account; and that the dispensers of justice should be (not men trained to that difficult kind of work but,) the very persons who had bought the privilege of extracting from the rayat the revenue of the land. It is no wonder, in one word, that the Gáikváds made few changes and little progress in the administration of justice.

That it may be more fully understood how the

subjection of Gujarát to the Maráthás varied in thoroughness, we must premise that the latter themselves divided the country into two classes. One they called Rástí or peaceable, the other Mevásí or turbulent. In the first the decisions of the judge were law, in the other justice could not be administered. Describing the Mevásí country and the changes wrought by the Maráthá invasion, Amrat Lál wrote: "Though the authority of the Moghul government was maintained by thánás, or bodies of troops, in different places, yet the whole extent of the country was intersected by the possessions of the original Rájás, Rajpúts, Kolís and Garásíás, who all bore the general name of zamíndárs." These zamíndárs did not lose their independence under the Maráthás: on the contrary, during the troublous times, when power was slipping away from the Moghuls, they became more powerful and turbulent than they had been, and only gradually sank again under the ever-increasing exactions of the new conquerors. Mr. Diggle, Assistant to the first Resident, wrote in 1804 that: "the rayats were a quiet, tractable race of people, and all judicial processes could with ease be executed towards them." But Major Walker adds in the same year, "The Maráthás may be considered in a constant state of warfare with the Garásíás and Kolís, and they are not numbered among the rayats. Most of these people, (including the Bhíls,) are thieves by profession and embrace every opportunity of plundering either public or private property." A brief summary

of Major Walker's and Mr. Diggle's remarks will complete the picture of those tribes whom Maráthá justice did not reach. They were not a collective people, but were scattered in small societies, sometimes living in walled villages of their own, and sometimes intermixed with the rest of the inhabitants, but all alike holding it their privilege to carry arms. They did not look to the government for any redress, but determined points of justice at their own free will and pleasure, generally by force rather than by conciliation. The distribution of justice in matters of a civil nature depended entirely upon the will of the head Garasíá, whose customs and rules were not guided by anything which bore resemblance to a system. Should any of the tribe commit a crime, (and murders were frequent among them,) he threw himself on the protection of the Chief, and so it often happened that, in the absence of justice, one murder led to another, committed in retaliation. If the Chief exacted some penalty of a guilty party, it usually took the shape of an inadequate fine. A promise given to a Bhát or Cháran was, however, generally binding, and even Garasíás occasionally submitted matters to arbitration, of which custom more will shortly be said.

We can now turn to the justice administered in the Rásti Maháls, where the Maráthás could exercise their will. These comprised an extent of country which on the whole tended to increase, though intermittently, and to gain in stability, as time went on.

In the first place it must be noticed that the Gaikvād government was not limited by positive law, though it was held in check by the customs of the country which it was obliged to respect. "Justice in Gujarāt," wrote Major Walker, "is not administered according to the written law of the several castes, but depends on the will of the person in whose hands the local authority may be placed." Nevertheless it may be laid down that, in all disputes concerning property either between the government and individuals, or between individuals, the Hindu (Dharmshāstra) or Muhammadán law, according to the faith of the parties, *ought* to direct the decision, but that in criminal cases, such as breach of the peace, theft or murder, the order of the Government determined the punishment. The discrepancy in these two statements scarcely requires explanation, the latter points to the system which it was felt should be followed, the former to the custom too often prevalent.

In the districts the administration of civil and criminal justice was in the hands of the farmer of the revenue, the great man who, after paying the stipulated sum to Government, was allowed plenary power in the district he farmed for a time, and who often disposed of a considerable armed force and held forts and fortified places. "His neglect of everything that offered trouble without a prospect of emolument naturally," as Major Walker remarked, "rendered the subjects restless and dissatisfied."

It was his object to recoup himself with interest

for the money he had paid Government ; it was not an object for him that the districts he temporarily ruled should be well administered. But, as the whole of the revenue system was based upon the farming of the revenues, it may be understood that the administration of justice was as difficult to reform as it was faulty in itself, that it was as faulty as it was stubborn against change. Khande Ráv first upset the Izárdár system, and thus effected an opening for reformation in the administration of justice : but, failing this radical change, the proper dispensation of justice, among other good things, depended on a proper choice of revenue farmers.

In civil cases the Kamávisdár, as he was styled, always demanded one-fourth of the sum which might be awarded by the arbitrators, the whole of which share went to his own use ; and the party who gained the cause became answerable for the payment of this fourth, the costs so to speak. None of the proceedings of the case were committed to writing, beyond that the gumáshtá of the Kamávisdár entered in his diary the benefits which accrued from the decision of any disputed point. As the Kamávisdár seldom resided in the district himself, he was in the habit of appointing a clerk to officiate for him.

Such being the imperfect and costly remedy afforded to the people, it is not surprising that disputes of a civil nature for landed property, debt, relating to caste, &c. were generally not brought before the Kamávisdár, but were settled out of Court by

arbitration. The "Pancháyat" provided the people with a simple and cheap means of settling their differences.

In criminal cases the Kamávísár was judge; but his powers were limited, as he was liable to be called to account by the government for excessive fines, and was not invested with the power of inflicting capital punishment. In cases of oppression, too, the rayats might complain to the Sarkár against the farmer, and sometimes their prayers received a hearing. The Maráthás were not, as a rule, cruel in the punishments they inflicted, though they often resorted to extreme measures in order to *detect* guilt. The usual punishments inflicted were fine, imprisonment, sometimes mutilation and banishment, and, in exceptional cases, death. But almost every crime became commutable for money, and fines were considered a regular branch of the revenue. In Major Walker's time the party found guilty or worsted in a civil suit was in nearly every instance required to give *security*, which was of one of six kinds: 1st, fail zámín or chálú zámín, *i.e.* security for good behaviour; 2nd, házir zámín, *i.e.* security for personal appearance; 3rd, mahál zámín, *i.e.* security for money, property or revenue; 4th, lílá zámín, *i.e.* permanent security for good behaviour, considered more binding than that first mentioned; 5th, ad zámín, *i.e.* additional security; and 6th, a person of the Bhát caste was required to guarantee the performance of an engagement, the conduct of the offender, or the observance of the other securities. The different

zámíns have been given at length, as they play a part in some important passages in the history of the State, the Bahándarís of the Arabs afterwards taken up by the British, and the engagements entered into with the chiefs of Káthiávád.

At the head of the judicial system, if system it can be called, was the irresponsible Rájá, to whom cases involving capital punishment were referred, and to whom appeals of any kind might be made. The Rájá was assisted by such chance advisers as he might select.

This, briefly, was the manner in which justice was administered up to the commencement of this century. Afterwards for nearly twenty years the State was ruled by a Commission, of which the British Resident was the most conspicuous member, and it is curious to know what Colonel Walker and Major Carnac did to mend matters. The former of these two great men, thinking that the time had not yet come to introduce reforms, contented himself with impressing on the administration the necessity of paying increased attention to the discharge of justice, and encouraged the system of Pancháyats. Major Carnac dealt with the matter more boldly, and his motives for doing so are worth considering. He believed that the practice of arbitration, as a system of justice, could not operate in a large and civilized society where rights were determined, not by a written law, but by the innumerable intricacies of local usage. He wished, therefore, to establish courts with positive powers, whose decisions might be placed on record to establish a body of precedents.

Pancháyats, he argued, were not juries, were not upon oath, they decided on points of law, and were not subject to the revision of any regular tribunal. They were not checked in case they decided corruptly, and if their award was a good one, there was no authority to register and enforce it, the matter being left to the leisure and convenience of the tax-gatherer. Hence he declared that "arbitration," (meaning such as was recognised by the Court,) "was scarcely ever resorted to in consequence of a mutual concurrence of parties in a suit without the intervention of Government." In other words, he abandoned all hope of reconciling the Pancháyat system with that of the Kamávísár administration, as Colonel Walker would have endeavoured to do. There was in Baroda a Kotvál's Court, and Major Carnac proposed to withdraw from it all but its heavy magisterial duties, and to entrust these to a Central Court. As a Magisterial Court the Kotvál was to be subordinate to the Nyáyádhishí Court. This Central Court the Resident would invest with criminal and civil powers of the highest degree, and at the head of it would place a member of the Gáikvád family, that the nobles might feel no repugnance in submitting to its decrees. During the regency of Fate Sing (S. 1866) the Central Court (Nyáyádhishí) came into existence; and under various names and with certain changes, it has continued in existence up to the present time, being the point from which all further reforms could start.

One sentence in Major Carnac's Report on the

judicial system of the State should be recorded in full, because its truth has been made clear over and over again, and because its significance still exists. By placing a member of the Gáikvād family in the Central Court the Resident hoped to remove the necessity of referring important criminal matters and all cases of consequence to the person to whom they had till then proceeded, the Mahārāja, whose opinion was influenced by ministers or favourites. "The "Mahārāja," wrote the Resident, "was frequently "absent from the capital, he might be disinclined "to work. Above all, the dignity of the prince, as "well as humane and merciful execution of justice, "required that neither the sovereign himself nor "his principal advisers should personally adjudge "and condemn any criminal. A system of justice "should, as much as possible, be independent of the "personal qualities of the sovereign, who, if inclined "to indulge the passions which opportunity tends so "greatly to encourage, could not, from his exalted "position, be easily restrained by good advice or "fear of consequences."

Over the Central Court thus established presided a Sar Pant, Moro Kashināth Abhayankar, and under him were three Pants, or judges, a Shāstrī and a Kāzī for the decision of points in Hindu or Mohammedan law. At first it was looked upon with aversion as an innovation, but it soon became popular. Shortly some cases of corruption occurred and the Court was shunned. But when guilty judges had been dismissed and the pay of those entertained

increased to diminish the desire for speculation, it regained its popularity. In S. 1869, Yeshvant Ráv Bápui Godbole became Sar Pant, and the reforms alluded to were carried out. The Nyáyádhishí Court tried every kind of case, both civil and criminal, being both first and final court, and it supplied all want of power in the Vahívátdárs of the districts. It must be noticed that at this time the Court, composed of the Sar Pant and three Pants, retained the form of a Panchayát. The Pants recorded their opinions separately, and the Sar Pant, after collecting them, took them to the Huzúr.¹ One constant difference of opinion which existed between the excellent young Regent and the equally excellent Resident, deserves mention before we pass on to subsequent changes. In criminal cases the Judge decided capital cases to be punishable (according to the law of the Shástras) by death, mutilation of the body, perpetual imprisonment, or a heavy fine, and these punishments might be remitted or only partially enforced at the pleasure of the sovereign. Fate Sing shrank from inflicting death, and the Resident often urged him to exact this last penalty for the benefit of society. Fate Sing had no objection to mutilation, but the Resident regarded this as horribly cruel.

In S. 1890, the post of President to the Nyáyádhishí Court was abolished, and all the Pants were done away with. The Diváns Veníráam Áditráam and Bháu Puránik decided cases with the aid of a Sharistedár. This abnormal state of things continued till Veníráam was dismissed, when a Judge

was once again placed at the head of the Court. Though this official was still aided by Shástrís and a Kází there were no Pants under the Sar Pant, and the Pancháyat form instituted by Gangádhār Shástrí was not revived.

In S. 1896 a Devaghar kacherí was instituted by Sayáji Ráv Mahárája, that a person discontented with the decision of the Nyáyádhishí Court might appeal to the Mahárája. On the payment of a nazaráná the Mahárája gave him the chance of a re-trial in the Devaghar kacherí. The dangers of this innovation were too striking to require explanation here. Fortunately, not long after, in S. 1902, Bháú Támbekar succeeded in obtaining the withdrawal from the Devaghar kacherí of its appellate powers on the payment of a nazaráná. It was converted into a joint civil court with the Nyáyádhishí Court, though the latter retained alone its criminal jurisdiction. But above the two Civil Courts he placed the Sar Nyáyádhishí Court, of which he himself was the first President.

Four years later (S. 1907) Bháú Támbekar, exercised by the thought that the Darakhdárs received high salaries and did little work, instituted a special Court, called the Darakhdár kacherí, which was to be a court of appeal from the Sadar Nyáyádhishí Court in civil matters. Bhímáshankar Shástrí was its first President, and he was assisted by the Mazmúdár, the Munshí, Bápu Maírál Shástrí, Mótílál Sámál Párekh, and Jamshedji, Desái of Nausárá. The Court continued in existence till the end of Ganpat

Ráv Mahārāja's reign when, instead of the Darakhdárs deciding cases, Gaṇesh Oze suggested that a Sharistedár should review the appeals and submit them to the judgment of the Mahārāja. The name of "Special Court" was retained for this arrangement.

In S. 1917 Khaṇḍe Ráv Mahārāja instituted a new Criminal Court, of which Bháú Shinde was the first President (Faujdári Kámdár). It was both a Magisterial and a Criminal Court, and it deprived the Nyáyádhishí Court of its criminal jurisdiction. Shortly after the Izárdár system (revenue farming) was brought to an end, and the maháls were each placed under a Vahívátdár. The Vahívátdár had under him three Sharistedárs—one for revenue, one for civil, and one for criminal cases. Magisterial work and criminal cases were supervised by the Faujdári Kámdár; revenue appeals went from the Vahívátdár's Court to the Sar Subhá, a post which had lately been created and bestowed on Haribá Dádá (S. 1920); finally, appeals in civil suits went to the Sadar Nyáyádhishí and then to the Member's Court, after the latter had taken the place both of the Sadar Nyáyádhishí Court and of the "Special Court." The Member's Court was composed of Mádhava Ráv Gangádhara, Sakharám Ballál, Náro Váman and Ábá Shástrí.

It will thus be perceived that an effort was being made to separate the judicial system into different distinct branches and to introduce a little order into chaos. Besides, in S. 1924, at Bháú Shinde's suggestion, three grades of Civil Courts were formed with

varying powers, from which appeals went regularly to the Member's Court. And, above all, Khande Ráv attempted to codify laws. The first Civil Procedure Code was enacted in S. 1917 (A.D. 1861), but was superseded by the one now in force in S. 1926 (A.D. 1870): it was founded on the Bombay Regulations of 1827 and the old Civil Procedure Code.² The Criminal Code also dates from S. 1917, but additions were made to it in 1919, and it too was founded on the Regulations of 1827.⁵ The Revenue Code was enacted in S. 1921 (A.D. 1865) and was partly drawn from the same Bombay Regulations.

In S. 1928 the Varisht Court of final appeal in civil, criminal and revenue matters, was instituted by the Mahárāja Malhár Ráv.

Under the present administration a sweeping reform has been made, and the British method of administering justice been copied as closely as possible.

Hitherto we have been considering the formation of the Central Court or Courts, and have deferred from pp. 288—290 all detailed notice of the District Courts. In them there have been of course many changes from time to time, and perhaps the best way to understand what was their system is to take one *kalambandí* or set of instructions. Let us, for instance, take that of S. 1883 (A.D. 1827) as typical of what preceded and followed: at the same time bearing in mind that the *kalambandí* was very possibly not closely observed by the farmers of the revenue, and that in 1827 British suggestions were being plentifully supplied to the State,

In civil cases the Vahívátdár was to be assisted by a Panch, of which he selected the president, the hereditary officers of the district one member, the inhabitants of the place a third, the defendant and the plaintiff a fourth and a fifth. In ordinary criminal cases the Vahívátdár (or Kamávisdár) was empowered to try alone; in cases of a graver nature he took the Házir Zámin, reported the matter to Government, and called for the assistance of the Panch. All cases of course were to be tried according to Budhdhi and Dharm; and, if the Panch gave a deliberately false decision, a new Panch was to be formed, and the guilty Panch to be fined one-tenth of the value staked in the dispute, the proceeds going to the Pánjará Pol, or institution for the maintenance of animals.

Before going on to tell what were the powers of the Court, we must notice that in S. 1881 a General Stamp Act had been passed and that it applied to these Courts.

In suits for moveable property there was a limit set down of 12 years instead of the 20 fixed by Gan-gádhara Shástrí. In suits for immoveable property there was no limitation of time, but, unless settled by arbitration, the Vahívátdár could only record his decision and send it up to the Huzúr.

By this Kalambandí criminal offences to be tried are classified as—1, theft, dacoity and robbery; 2, grievous hurt; 3, slander.

In punishing the offender, if found guilty, the Court for a first offence might take as much as one-

twelfth of his property, for a second offence one-tenth, for a third offence as much as one-sixth, or, if the offender were too poor to be so punished, he might be imprisoned in chains for four years, or for six years, or for seven years. Certain crimes are more particularly noticed—theft of corn, defamation and adultery. If found guilty of this last, the offender, when worth 100 Rs., had to pay 5 Rs. fine; when worth less than 1,000 Rs. he had to pay 50 Rs.; when worth 10,000 Rs. he had to pay 100 Rs. The heaviest fine for adultery was 500 Rs. A Vahívát-dár might, if he could, deal with a riot or public disturbance himself, but after catching offenders, he was bound to send them to the Huzúr.

Note ¹, p. 294.—The Sar Pant's salary was only 400 Rs. a month. The costs of litigation were fixed, in suits of from 5 to 1,000 Rs. at 1 anna in the Rupee, in suits of from 1,000 to 5,000 Rs., at 5 per cent., then up to 10,000 Rs. at 4 per cent., then up to 40,000 Rs. at 2½ per cent. Suits for moveable property were limited to twenty years. The customs of Gujarát were to be recorded for precedents. *Connection with the districts*: weekly reports were sent to the Huzúr of grave criminal crimes, and orders were thence issued, probably through the Court. *Military class*: disputes regarding their service or haks were decided departmentally, but suits for debt were tried in the Court, not however without the previous sanction of the Sarkár. *Revenue* cases were tried by the Diván. Such were the rules laid down by Fate Sing in A.D. 1814.

Note ², p. 297.—Certain provisions of the Civil Code are worth mentioning. (1) *Execution of decrees*: not only implements of trade or husbandry and wearing apparel, &c., but the house or portion of a house of the debtor necessary for the shelter of himself and family, and also corn sufficient to last for two months, are exempted from attachment and sale in execution of a decree. Imprison-

ment in default of payment of the amount of a decree is not to exceed three months except in special cases, and with the sanction of the Sarkár, if the amount exceeds 2,000 Rs. Not a few people in British India will admire these provisions. (2) *Limitation*: suits for Vatan Vriti, for partition of ancestral property, for redemption of mortgage, for stridhán, for deposits, and for maintenance, can be brought at any time. Limitation for suits for the recovery of immoveable property is placed at twenty years, for suits on bonds, &c., at twelve years, and for suits on an account at six years. The limitation for the execution of a decree is the same as the limitation for a suit according to the nature of the claim. (3) *Interest*: the Code does not allow interest beyond 12 per cent. whatever the written contract may be, and interest beyond the amount of the principal is not allowed. (4) *Liability of sons and heirs*, the Hindu son is liable for the debts of his father with interest, though he may not have inherited property. In the same way the grandson is liable for the principal but not for interest. Other heirs are liable if they should have inherited the property of the deceased. The greater part of these enactments is well suited to the people.

Note ², p. 297.—*Peculiarities of Criminal Code*: The killing of a cow is punishable with death. Adultery is punishable with a fine of 5 Rs., and rape with imprisonment for a period not exceeding 6 months, or with a fine of Rs. 30, or both. Women are punishable for adultery. Of course under the administration of Raja Sir T. Mádava Ráy these laws have been altered. These and other defects are supplied by new circulars.

CHAPTER XXVI.

KHANDE RÁV (*continued*)—THE FINANCIAL AND REVENUE SYSTEMS.

Within the last few years, Rájá Sir T. Mádava Ráv has openly stated that the State possesses large accumulations of money, has introduced a system whereby the State pays its way without borrowing, and has begun to keep accounts which purport to inform those interested in such matters what the State receipts and disbursements are. This is all so novel and extraordinary that it is with difficulty that we can reconcile it with the financial history of the State up to recent times. To be in debt, to remain in debt, and to get along by raising a fresh loan when difficulties necessitated a settlement, this has hitherto been the usage of the State. To make some parade of its enormous debts from time to time and thus to deprecate rough treatment, to conceal the true state of things, this has hitherto been its policy.¹

In this history we have boldly followed the version handed down by British officials of vast sums owing to the Peshvá, of debts to guaranteed bankers hardly removed by British interference and assistance, and of succeeding embarrassments which have constantly rendered the State almost bankrupt. But

there is another story to be told which may seem so improbable that we hesitate to give it. Debtors there are in India who have kept on paying heavy interest though possessed of means ample enough to clear them of their difficulties: extraordinary cruelties have been exercised in this country to compel people to disclose their hidden wealth, but still more extraordinary fortitude has often been displayed in concealing the buried hoard from the spoiler. "What," some would say, "if the Gaikváds have been cunning enough to make the Peshvá and the British believe that they were steeped in debt, while they have, from the beginning, been well enough off. Remember how they kept their own counsel and allowed Major Carnac to tell the Governor of Bombay that they were free of all claims when they were preparing him the surprise of a debt of over a crore. Remember Sayáji's offer to pay off the guaranteed bankers from his private property, and the ease with which he at last settled with them. The British never understood the relations between the Gaikvād and his bankers: it was a costly system of raising money from day to day as calls for payment came in, but it suited the government, it was absolutely impenetrable to the curious investigations of outsiders, it had the merit of keeping the money that was made inside the State. When the British, after thirty years had been passed in paying off the great bankers, determined to drop their vexatious, costly and utterly futile mode of interference, did

"Sayáji break down? Not a bit of it, he satisfied his creditors and became one of them, yes, the Gáikvād turned into a Potadár himself, and by degrees, just before Malhár Ráv fell, was the only Potadár in the State. Sayáji Ráv was not quite the greedy prince he was imagined to be, but a shrewd native ruler who had clear ideas, though they were not British ideas, of what he wanted to do with the revenue, and these he carried triumphantly into execution, though at a terrible cost to himself and his successors."

To put the matter briefly, the State from of old borrowed money from the bankers in order to meet any calls on it for payment, whether great or small. The State did not pay in money, but by a money-order on a banker; to the banker it granted a varát or letter of credit on some kamávís-dár or farmer of the revenue of one of the maháls, who honoured the varát at the time of paying in the rent of his farm.

The bankers who thus supplied the government with ready money, and recouped themselves from the kamávís-dárs were called Potadárs. From the time of Ánand Ráv they were five in number, and each had the right to lend to the government a certain proportion of all the sums which it was necessary to advance. Taking 1 rupee as the representative figure, Harí Bhaktí had the right to advance $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas of the total, Gopál Ráv Mairái $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas, Ratanji Kándás (of Káthiá-vád), Lálá Mangal and Sámal Bechar the remainder. The regular in-

terest on the loan varied from 12 annas at the beginning of this century to 6 annas later on. But all payments made by the Sarkár were of two kinds: in one set of payments the full sum was made over to the person whom the Sarkár desired to pay, but in the other set of payments the full sum was not made over. It is strange, but it is true, that generally from every 100 Rs. said to be owing, a deduction of 3 Rs. 12 annas was made, and the money thus withdrawn was disposed of in the following way: 2 Rs. were considered to be potadárí, 1 R. 8 annas to be interest, and 4 annas to be the perquisite of the banker's gumáshtá or agent, whether he existed or not. The transaction did not end here: in settling his accounts, the Potadár kept for himself 2 Rs. out of the 3 Rs. 12 annas thus saved, and paid back to government 1 R. 12 annas, *i.e.* half the potadárí and interest items. One more advantage was granted to the Potadár, that of drawing Manotí. The meaning of the term as commonly used is this; there is a custom by which when a lender hands over, say, 100 Rs. to a borrower, he withdraws for himself 1 Rupee. The Manotí of the Potadár was not quite the same; when he advanced 100 Rs. he placed on his accounts with the Sarkár a sum of 101 Rs. as due to him. If the payment to the person to be paid was to be in full, the Potadár first charged the government interest at 6 annas in addition to the whole sum, and then returned to the government one-half of that sum, *i.e.* 3 annas, the Potadárí item being treated as in the first set of payments.

The Potadár forwarded the order of the Sarkár, together with the receipt of the person to whom money had been paid, to the kamávisdár. The latter repaid him the sum he had expended at the time when the rent of his farm had to be sent in. The kamávisdárs' dues to Government were paid in quarterly instalments, and for the most part they went to clear off the Potadár's varáts in the manner described.

We have mentioned in the body of this history that Sayáji Ráv was driven to pay the Contingent force regularly and to pay off the guaranteed bankers. He then began to deal with them as adversaries and established several banks, of which the one called after his son Gañesh Ishvar was the principal one. This bank had at first for capital a sum of 5½ lákhs, which Sayáji considered to be his private property, and he employed it as if he himself were a Potadár, sharing in the profits hitherto monopolised by the great bankers. Khande Ráv went further. In S. 1915, he founded the *Kutb-Rubbání* Bank, with a capital of 21½ lákhs. The sources from which he drew this sum are worth mentioning: 3½ lákhs were withdrawn from the Gañesh Ishvar, 7 lákhs came from the money restored to him by the British when the Gujarát Irregular Cavalry was broken up, a son was adopted into the house of Harí Bhaktí after the payment of a nazaráná of 5 lákhs. One important item remains among several not mentioned here: in S. 1919 he paid a royal visit to his

district of Kadí Patan, and to defray expenses he levied a tax on all the Maháls except Nausárá, 5½ lákhs of the proceeds of which went into this bank. Nausárá had to pay a similar tax called the Savári Nazaráná, when His Highness visited Bombay to meet the Duke of Edinburgh. The interest of the bank's potadári operations in four years (S. 1915-19) amounted to 2½ lákhs, which went to swell the capital, when its operations were gradually extended from 2 lákhs to 7 or 8 lákhs. The *Maul Ali* Bank was started in S. 1916 with a capital of 23 lákhs; in four years their interest amounted to 2½ lákhs, which sum likewise went to swell the capital; and its operations also increased from 2 to 7 or 8 lákhs of Potadári business. The Potadári share of the first or Ganesh Ishvar Bank amounted to from 11 lákhs at first to 14½ lákhs at last. Malhár Ráv was thus able, when he came to the gádí, to do without any State banker as Potadár, and to lend himself all the money he borrowed from the three banks above mentioned. When Sir Mádava Ráv undertook the administration, he swept away the banking system altogether, and placed the sums he found in the three banks into a central treasury.⁵

Not to be mentioned on a par with the three State banks was the Mahábub Subhání, founded by Khande Ráv. The bank originated from the necessity of having some place wherein to deposit the proceeds from the maháls, when these were no longer farmed but were

directly managed by the Government. It was supervised by the new Sar Subhá, who honoured the varáts of the Potadárs as the kamávís-dárs used to do.

The kamávís-dár was the farmer of the revenues

The Kamávís-dár or of the State. The government did not collect its own Izárdár.

revenues, but let out the right of collecting them either to creditors or to persons who purchased that right at a public auction. The distinguishing mark of a good government must therefore have been the care it took in selecting good kamávís-dárs or izárdárs.

For the power of these men was enormous and the supervision exercised over them trifling; the tenure of the farm was for a limited number of years, and no inducement was made them to keep up or improve the administration; as a mercantile transaction they were justified in making the highest possible profit, and it was nothing to them that the greatness of the profits must correspond with the intensity of the exactions. To explain these matters a little. Only a good government could select good kamávís-dárs, and that only if it was free from pecuniary embarrassments, for the tendency of straitened times was to give the maháls to the highest bidders independently of any consideration for their respectability and worth, while the policy of shiftless or grasping rájás was to take private bribes from the farmers that a low bid to the State might be accepted, the tenure of the farm renewed, or irregularities overlooked. A bribe from the farmer to the rájá of course put the latter much into the power of

the former; the master was at the mercy of the servant. But there was one pernicious way in which a bad government quickly intensified every evil of the farming system. It played the farmers false and resumed the farms before the expiry of their tenure, that a fresh bid might be made for them. In such times the farmers made extraordinary attempts to provide against contingencies, and revenged themselves on the people for the faithlessness of the prince. The power of the farmer was great, we have said, for the whole district was placed under him. He was civil judge and magistrate, and often of old he was in possession of fortified places and thánás; he disposed of the police and often, of old, of a large military force; he was of course the collector of taxes and the regulator of their amount. The writer is not in a position to say what was the nature of the supervision exercised over the kamávísdárs before the time of Bábáji Áppáji, but he doubts if there was any systematised supervision at all such as the Mus-sulmán governments maintained. No doubt an appeal might and occasionally was made by the rayats to the Sarkár which met with a hearing; but an embarrassed or careless government turned a deaf ear to such petitions.

As want of space prevents us from dealing with the subject except in a cursory manner, from the kamávísdár or izárdár we pass on at once to the taxes he collected. Of course the main source of revenue in the Baroda State has always been the

The land tax.

land tax, and that has generally been collected according to one of four methods. In old times there was the *bhágvatai* system, where the produce was collected by the rayat and brought to the threshing-ground: it was then divided, (though sometimes the estimate was made on the standing crop,) and the collector took his share, which varied from one-third to one-half, the monsoon crops paying highest, the cold season crops less, the irrigated crops least. The collector's share was then placed in store-houses and sold as he thought fit; now-a-days it is sold by the government officials. The *bhágvatai* method of collecting the land tax still prevails in the Amreli district, excluding Okhámāṇḍal and villages in Kodinaḍ, and in some inám lands in the Baroda subhá valued at about one lākh.

In old times the *holbandi* method was perhaps more prevalent than it now is, though it still exists in Tilakvādā and in Antápúr and Visánpúr, in the Nausári district towards Songaḍ, i.e. the Bhíl country. It is the plough tax, that is, the tax was levied on the number of ploughs used, a certain quantity of land being reckoned as the extent over which a plough, or rather two oxen, could pass in the year. The *holbandi* system was and is employed in the wilder and more hilly parts of the State, where the produce is scanty.

The third method was termed the *narvā*, which, unlike the other three, is not rayatvári, and, owing to circumstances, it is still prevalent in the Petlād perganná, where it was revised and registered by

Sir John Malcolm during the sequestration of that district. In the *narvá* system the *pátel* or *matedár* (the signer of the agreement) made himself responsible for the payment of a lump sum of money yearly fixed by the Government.⁴

The *bhúgdári* method is similar to the *narvá* in certain respects. The lands are measured and assessed, and the *bhúgdárs* or superior holders are responsible for the revenue, but they may get such terms as they please out of the *rayats*.

Finally, in old times the *bighotai* system was used; but then uncommonly, while now it is of course the method most generally employed. By this system the land itself is assessed according to its area, position and quality.⁵

Such were the chief methods⁶ of levying the land

Tenures.

tax on *Sarkári* or *Khálsá* land; but we had now better

draw the distinction between *Sarkári* and other kinds of land which did not belong to government. In almost every village there were lands over which the government did not exercise rights of ownership, though in ordinary circumstances the land of the State is held to belong exclusively to the *rájá*.⁷

The village officials were paid for their work either by contributions from the villagers or by certain *hakks* (rights to cultivate a fixed area of land) or by both contributions and *hakks*. This land so set apart for the village officials was termed *posaitá*. There were also the *vajifá* lands, i.e. those granted to Mussalmáns during the Moghal rule and con-

tinued to them by the Maráthás. The *báhárkhañi* lands comprised charitable or religious grants to Bráhmaṇs, Bháts and others. The *vántá* lands were those possessed by the large and powerful class of Girassíás, of whom nothing need be said here. Finally there were the lands termed *vachánia* and *gheránia*, that is, lands of which the proprietorship had been sold outright or mortgaged by the Government through the páťels. Such transactions were sanctioned in times of difficulty in order that a sufficient revenue might be collected. The páťel's right to sell or mortgage government land was, however, not openly recognized by the Sarkár after the year 1827. Accordingly when Khaṇḍe Ráv levied an inám tax of one-eighth on all land not belonging to government, he did not recognize sales or mortgages made by páťels after that date. We may add that, though Khaṇḍe Ráv exacted an inám tax in imitation of the British Government, it is held that these lands are resumable.

As it is impossible to detail the minute changes

Revenue system.

which took place in the
revenue system from the

beginning to the end, we have thought it best to quote the Kalambandi of 1827, (the instructions of Sayáji Ráv to the vahívátdárs of that year) in order to illustrate some of the main points. We have seen that there were two classes of land, that belonging to the Sarkár, and that over which its rights were limited: we have also seen that the kamávisdár had the right to settle with the rayats the

sums they should pay him. By the Kalambandi of 1827 the rayats were ordered to cultivate the Sarkár land first in order that private interests might not militate against the public profit, and the extent of Sarkár land cultivated was in all cases to be at least double that of all other kinds of land. If within the village limits the Sarkár land did not by so much exceed other land, the villagers were to proceed to the neighbouring village and cultivate Sarkár land there before attending to their private interests. In old days the rayats were often so badly treated by some kamávísárdars that they were driven to desert their fields and take up work offered them by some more liberal farmer, nor was land then so extensively cultivated as it now is, so that labourers were wanted and land was at a discount. We are not therefore surprised to see that, in the Kalambandi of 1827, though the kamávísárdar was permitted to receive within his maháls rayats from other parts of the country, he could only do so if they had previously paid up all arrears due by them to other kamávísárdars: and he could only guarantee stranger's land during his tenure of office, nor was his successor bound by any terms he might have made.

Let us now see what was the position of the farmer with regard to the hereditary officers, the military class, and in certain particulars the government.

We have already stated that he was to pay the sums he owed to government in four instalments, and arrears were charged with 9 per cent. interest. Any unsanctioned expenditure was to come out of his

own pocket. For the construction or repair of public works, never very numerous or extensive, the government bade him obtain assistance from the rayat: it itself aided such efforts, in the time of Khande Ráv, by a grant equalling the expenditure of the rayats. At the end of the year the vahívátdár sent in his account of the sums he had received and those he had disbursed during his tenure of the farm. It is not to be supposed that these accounts were always very correct, for it was in the interest of the farmer to make the government believe that his profits had been small. But, in the opinion of a person of some experience of the farming system, it was rather by exaggerating the expenditure than the receipts that the farmer deceived the government, as any undue exaction of taxes from the rayats might lead these to complain and so reveal the true state of things. However that may be, we give as samples some items of expenditure and receipts in two accounts, that the system may be understood.

The account sent in by the farmer of the Sankhedá Mahál in S. 1843.

The receipts from the land tax were 56,611½ Rs., those from the shivái jamá or other sources to distinguish them from the ain jamá or principal (land) collection were 16,201 Rs. Some of the items of the shivái jamá for that year will be given, that an idea may be got of the curious sources from which money was obtained, sources not generally mentioned in the standard works on political economy. The sáyar jakát or customs fetched 8,000 Rs.; the dalálí or tax

on trades 1,200 Rs.; the kalál bhattí or tax on liquor distilleries 676 Rs.; the mápan or test of weights 100 Rs.; the bracelet makers paid 51 Rs.; the hari vera fetched 404 Rs.; a tax on mevásí (troublesome, riotous) villages 677 Rs.; the sukhaḍí or "tips" 402 Rs.; the right to collect the crops 54 Rs.; the sálverá (tax on hot weather crops) 83 Rs.; for presents of fruit to be offered to people of rank 11 Rs.; the fines in the courts of justice amounted to 2,300 Rs.; a grass-tax to 25 Rs.; the mahasulí, or despatch of horsemen to live in the houses and at the cost of debtors till they paid up, brought in 60 Rs.; the chauth or fourth which represented judicial costs 150 Rs.; then 29 Rs. were withdrawn at the time of paying people who were creditors to government; the tax on mangoes brought in 900 Rs.; the tax on second marriages of women 30 Rs.; and on intestate property 130 Rs.

The account of the farmer of Vaḍanagar, S. 1891.

The land tax amounted to 41,062 Rs., the shivái jamá or other taxes to 18,950 Rs. These included one of 88 Rs. as havaldárí, when government servants were detached to guard the fields at night at 1 R. per case; one of 1,000 Rs. as a tax on the infamous robber caste called Dhanoje. These robbers and murderers were granted an asylum by the Gáikvaḍ on the condition that they should spare his territories and pay an annual sum to government, and in S. 1891 the Dhanojé people were also taxed 1 R. per head, or 85 Rs. for going out of the mahál to steal. On releasing prisoners from their bonds, the farmer

collected 10 Rs., and he got 200 Rs. as kaul nazaráná, as a gift at the time of making a promise or agreement. The kandila pattá of the year was 1,000 Rs. Of old it had been the custom to levy an extra tax when the eldest son of the rájá was born, when there was a royal marriage, when certain religious ceremonies were performed on the Gáik-vád's son, &c. ; but now this tax had been instituted permanently instead of such occasional calls on the rayat.

Before describing the disbursements of these two maháls, let us go into the relations of the farmer with hereditary officers, and certain other points.

In the Kalambandi of 1827 the kamávisdár is enjoined to select from the families who inherited the right to discharge the office the best individuals he could find to be Desáis, Mazmúdárs, Amín Pátels, and Pátels. These men, the old officers of Gujarát, did not directly assist the farmer in the execution of his duties or in the collection of the revenue. But it was their business to aid him indirectly in persuading the people to work, to take up land, to pay their taxes, and to behave quietly. The one exception was the Mazmúdár whose duty it was to keep the accounts, that is, to write out the jamábandi of the mahál. The fact is that in the Baroda State, as elsewhere, the Government did not interfere with the old village system or the self-government of the people in the districts according to customs of great antiquity, but simply added on a system by which money might be collected and a

few general services to the public be rendered. The Kalambandi of 1827 enjoins that an annual statement of the sums paid to hereditary officers was to be sent in by the farmer, together with their receipts.

The farmer transacted his work with the assistance of kárkúns or clerks. The district which he farmed, and which was called the mahál, was divided into thánás or groups of villages, averaging from ten to fifteen. The Baroda mahál, for instance, contained eighteen thánás. The tháná was managed by a government official called the thápedár, and each village had its mehtá, the first of whom would get about 20 Rs. a month, the latter about 15 Rs. The thápedár supervised the collection of the revenue while the mehtá actually collected it, in which business he was aided or checked by a vatandár or hereditary officer, the tūlātí (or weigher), who represented the interests of the villagers. The thápedars continued to do their work till S. 1916, when Khande Ráv's new revenue and police systems began to be introduced. Up to that time they had fauzdárí and mulkí work to do, but in S. 1917-18 one fauzdár was appointed to do the fauzdárí work up to then done by two or three officers, and no mulkí work. This continued till S. 1924-25, when the two works were again united and entrusted to the thápedár, who was given some small powers of inflicting fines, was placed in charge of a larger number of villages, and was granted the assistance of a kárkún.

The police work of the districts was done with the

assistance of a semi-military force, the mahálí or Thevañuki Sibandi, who were sent on mohasulí duty, as has been already described. The Kalambandi of 1827 enjoins on the vahívátdár the suppression of all disturbances by Bhíls, Mevásís and Girásiás : he was to seize such offenders if he could and forward them to the Huzúr for trial, but if he failed to effect their capture with the ordinary police force, the Sarkár promised him assistance. The farmer had not, according to the Kalambandi of 1827, the power of punishing himself the military placed at his disposal ; but if discontented with any of the military, he was to forward his complaint against such for the Sarkár to dispose of.

We may now pass on to the details of the two accounts of disbursements given here, after premising that in the Kalambandi of 1827 the farmer is ordered not to disturb the rights of Girásiás, Bháts and Bráhmans, and to make proper payment of Devastháns, Ásámí nemnúks, the Daitias of Darakh-dárs, and of the salary due to the Sibandi.

In S. 1843 the farmer of the Sankhedá Mahál

Disbursements.	fixes the cost of his establishment in kárkúns at
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800 Rs., in Sibandi at 763 Rs. The Kherfj Mushará or Roji Shivai comprise Sarkári Kharch 7,000 Rs., and Darbár Kharch 638 Rs., these items representing douceurs, not to call them bribes, bestowed on the ministers and their master ; 626 Rs. are spent in bestowing poshákhs, or dresses of honour, on Mangal Párekhs and other great people, while the Aher

Kharch, an item of the same nature, stands at 30 Rs. These are the great items. For contingent expenses are represented at 5 Rs. 4 annas, Dharmádai 22 Rs., Devasthán 2 Rs., and Varsháshan 3 Rs.

The Vadanagar accounts of disbursements in S. 1891 place the religious or charitable items much higher, as beseems so much holier a Mahál, Devasthán 125 Rs., Darmádhai 200 Rs., Varshásan 614 Rs., charities 50 Rs., for the Anushtán of Shrávān Mashte 550 Rs., Bhojan Kharch 200 Rs., and Shidhe Kharch 100 Rs. The Daitias of the Darakhdárs amount to 1,075 Rs., the Sárkár Sukhadi to 400 Rs. Here we find the vatan or regular pay of the farmer fixed at 700 Rs., while his clerk's establishment is no more than 700 Rs., and his contingent expenses no more than 30 Rs. The cost of the Sibandi, on the other hand, mounts up to 2,500 Rs.

At the risk of drawing out this chapter to too great a length, a sketch will here be given of the receipts and disbursements for one year (S. 1896) under the old system, that the difference between it and the present financial system may be more fully understood.

At the end of the year there was a balance in hand of Rs. 5,40,000. The total receipts of the year amounted to 57,79,000 Rs., debts had been contracted for 1,54,98,000 Rs.

At pages 138, 139 allusion has been made to the plan of raising fresh loans to pay off loans of the previous year. Therefore it is not strange to find that though such enormous debts had been contracted and placed under receipts, equally enormous sums had been paid off and placed under expenditure for the year. The intricate accounts and strange interest of the Potadári system must however be borne in mind.

Debts were paid off amounting to 1,52,49,000 Rs., the expenditure of the State came to 59,78,000 Rs. The details of the latter are as follows:—

	Rs.
1. <i>Army—</i>	
Págás	10,16,000
Siledárs	11,75,000
Sibandí	7,28,000
2. <i>Further military expenses—</i>	
Forts	77,000
Saddlery of Págás	16,000
Rewards for wounds and horses lost in battle...	33,000
To Subhás of Contingent Force	27,000
3. <i>Administration of the Mahals</i>	8,84,000
4. <i>Further civil expenditure—</i>	
Poona expenses for vakils, &c.	3,000
Stamp office	800
Sávkár Kharch	2,26,500
Sums returned to farmers of revenue	10,000
5. <i>Dumálgaum and Indmgaum</i>	3,25,000
Girásiá	3,900
6. <i>Royal expenses—</i>	
Sarkár Kharch	56,000
Family Civil List	1,50,000
Elephants, carriages, stables	5,59,000
For favourites and confidential advisers	2,93,000
For peons, &c.	4,300
For pensioners and other dependents	11,000
For household servants	31,000
For milkmen and palace vegetable sellers	31,000
Khot Kharch, loss in buying cloths, &c. for palace	8,000
For celebration of holidays	3,000
For nautch parties in Shimgá holidays	16,000
Marriage festivities	10,250
Tent and carpet department	1,500
For charities	44,000
7. <i>Jásti kharch (extraordinary) in public works, visits from foreigners, &c.</i>	2,86,000
8. <i>Under no particular head</i>	11,000

Though the receipts and disbursements of 1876-77 are not reported to be absolutely correct, we may notice that the land

revenue was 89,01,615 Rs., the total revenue 1,24,78,802 Rs., and the disbursements fell short of that sum by more than 20 lákhs.

The palace disbursements for 1876-77 fell a little short of 16 lákhs; though this, at first sight, seems to compare unfavourably with the old account under consideration, it should be remembered that the Mahárája had then other sources of revenue at his command. In Khaṇḍe Ráv's time the palace disbursements exceeded 30 lákhs.

The expenditure on the army has now increased to 34,87,924 Rs.

The civil expenditure has enormously increased. Huzúr establishments, land revenue department, civil establishments, judicial department, police and jails cost no less than 23½ lákhs. Such new items as public works, education, a medical department and municipalities cost nearly 9 lákhs.

It may be interesting to notice that at the present day, the burden of pensioners, ásamídárs and nemnákdárs is 7,35,500 Rs., and that of religious or charitable allowances, 4,68,200 Rs.

Finally, though the Dumálgaum and Inámgaum villages were entered in the old accounts as disbursements, they should not have so appeared. They represented lands which paid no revenue. The Inámgaums were villages granted as free gifts to individuals, the Dumálgaums were villages granted to military leaders for the proper maintenance of their troops.

Note ¹, p. 301.—To describe the financial system of Baroda, a quotation from one of Burke's speeches has been given once before now. "It was an exchequer wherein Extortion was the assessor, Fraud the cashier, Confusion the accountant, Concealment the reporter, and Oblivion the remembrancer."

Note ², p. 305.—In the kalambandi of 1827 interest at 9 per cent. had to be paid for all sums which fell into arrears.

Note ³, p. 306.—In the concluding chapter of this volume it is mentioned that in the year 1876-77 there was a reserve of 168 lákhs. It is not to be imagined for one moment that so large a sum has been saved in the past three or four years. The fact is that though the State at the time of the Mahárája Malhár Ráv's deposition was held to be insolvent the supposition was erroneous. When the dealings between State and bankers were brought to light it was found that the State was to the good.

Note 4, p. 310.—The narvádárs were probably the original founders of the village, who divided among themselves the portions of the village they intended to have populated and cultivated. The rayats they called in to effect this were mere tenants-at-will, whatever may be their present position. This is not clearly known as Government does not often interfere between the narvádár and his people. If there are several narvádárs in one village each pays his share of the lump sum due to Government, not in accordance with the present extent of his property, but in accordance with the *original* division of the share when the village was founded. If one narvádár fails to pay Government the others must make up for it.

Note 5, p. 310.—There is no thirty years' settlement in Baroda. A survey assessment was introduced by Khande Rá v, and a settlement was effected for ten years. But this settlement was respected neither by the government nor the rayats, and the rates had lately to be revised as they were too high (A.D. 1874-75). The present rates are not fixed for any definite period. The survey assessment system prevails in Nausári, most of the Central Division, and in the Northern Division except with regard to some villages.

Note 6, p. 310.—No mention need be made in the text of certain varieties of assessment, as that *per pickaxe* and *per perch* or raised platform, whence the cultivators watch their fields. No mention either has been made of the *merási* villages. The headman, being more or less independent, agrees to pay government a lump sum from year to year or time to time, but is not subject to any interference in his own fiscal arrangements with his people.

Note 7, p. 310.—Now the Baroda State lands paying revenue are held to belong to the government. The cultivators hold the lands at the pleasure of the government, and are in no sense joint proprietors. But of course government does not interfere with a rayat who pays his tax regularly. In fact rayats were and are seldom ousted even if they did or do not pay revenue regularly; their moveable property is sold or, if they have none, they pay by instalments. It is doubtful if of old a cultivator was ever ejected for private debts, and his cattle and tools, food and clothes are still exempted from the process of civil courts. O happy cultivators, if they knew their advantages!

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BARODA COINAGE—CERTAIN STATE RIGHTS—THE
BRÁHMAṆS—THE END OF KHAṆDE RÁV'S REIGN.

We purpose now to make some remarks on certain rights of the Gáikváḍ which have been affected either by treaty, by the geographical situation of the country, or by the relations in which he stands with the British Government.

Mint and Coinage.—The Gáikváḍ has coined his own money from an early date. The silver coins are now termed the new Sīyásáí (Bábásáí) Rupees, the coppers are termed Baroda pice. There is, perhaps, slightly less alloy in the Baroda than in the British Rupee, but, owing to its lesser weight, its average value is 13 annas $11\frac{1}{2}$ pies in British currency, though it unfortunately varies in exchange from day to day. The charge for conversion of bullion into coin is or was 4 annas per 100 Rs., and, as the currency circulates throughout the Baroda dominions and the Mahí and Revá Kánṭhás, the gain to the State amounted to fifty thousand Rupees a year.

It would perhaps have been safer to say that the Bábásáí Rupee used to circulate throughout the Baroda dominions till within the last year. For, recently, orders have been issued that the Govern-

ment may accept money payments in British currency, and that public servants may be paid in British Rupees in certain parts of the Baroda territories. The Gáikvád, it may be remarked, can, by thoroughly improving his coinage, cause it to circulate throughout the whole extent of his dominions.

The evils of the Bábásái coinage are, however, so great that it is improbable that they will be suffered to continue. The Mint is the rudest thing imaginable, as little or no machinery is employed. A large hole is made in the ground, in which an earthenware vessel is placed capable of containing twenty thousand tolás of silver. The vessel, when filled with silver and a proportion of copper, is surrounded by a charcoal fire, till the contents have become liquified and purified by the action of the heat and an infusion of borax. The metal is then poured by large spoonfuls into long thin shallow moulds, each containing from ten to twelve tolás of silver. After cooling, these slabs are entrusted by one to five hundred tolás to goldsmiths who cut them into small pieces weighing 29 vals 1 gúnj, which are afterwards cleaned and stamped by the hand. The consequences of the employment of such coins are easy to tell. The impression on the coin is never full and square-cut, and the die is so rude that counterfeiting is an easy task. The coin itself has neither shape nor milling at the edge, so that it is impossible to detect if great portions have been filed off. It is so thick that it cannot be sounded, and it is apt to wear away under friction. If its weight at

the moment of being turned out is insufficient, a piece is roughly stuck on, and this is apt subsequently to drop off. Finally, the coin bears from day to day a varying ratio to the British Rupee of from 112 : 100 to 120 : 100, so that, whenever any exchange has to take place or any considerable amount of money passes hands, the shroff's assistance has to be purchased to test the pieces or declare their value.

In addition to the "coin of the realm," so to call it, British money is largely in use throughout the State, in the Nausarí Division there is the Broach coinage, and in Páhlánpúr and in the whole of the Kadí Prant, (except Dehagaum and Atarsumbá, in the former of which British and in the latter Bábásarí money prevails) there is the Shekárí coinage. A brief account of the two latter coins is all that is wanted to exhibit the necessity of a uniform standard.

The Broach Mint was founded in the declining period of the Moghul empire, and the year 1748 is given as the one in which the Naváb, then only nominally dependent on the Emperor, actually started it. In those days the coinage issued was pure enough, but Scindia subsequently obtained Broach, and under his rule the proportion of alloy introduced was largely increased. The average value of 100 Broach Rupees equalled 95 British Rupees till 1867-68, when the Collector of Surat bought up a large quantity at par and sent it to

Bombay to be melted down. The Broach money continued to be in use in the Nausárá Division till last year, but now it is being bought up cheap by the merchants and sent to Surat to be converted into ornaments. The prohibition of Broach money adversely affected the poorer classes during a bad year, as they had to purchase British money with the now discontinued coin. But if it is borne in mind that the Broach Mint has not been in existence since Broach fell into the hands of the British, and that the quantity of counterfeit coin in use must have largely increased to meet the requirements of the bázár, the advantage of a substitution of British for Broach coinage will be apparent.

The Shakái Rupees were recently in circulation in Ahmadábád and the neighbouring districts, but were put a stop to by the Collector in about the year 1850. The coinage itself of course dated from the time of the Moghul supremacy, and there is still in the old capital of Gujarát a building called the Tanksál (Mint), now converted into a girls' school by the Shetání Harkunvar Báí. In old days the Shakái Rupee was worth seventeen annas, but now, though constantly varying, it is always at a discount, and 100 of such Rupees can be purchased for from 96 to 99½ British Rupees. The people have a curious idea that the Shakái Rupees are good coins for hoarding purposes. In Vadanagar and Visnagar of the Kađí Pránt the Shakái Rupees are not so bad and are known as Bahárchalái, that

is, fit to be used abroad, but in the Patán Mahál they are much defaced and even broken.

One instance in the past history of the Baroda State may be given to illustrate the evils of these many mints. In 1809 the firms of Vakhāt and Khúshálchand had the management of the Shákái mint for four or five years and had greatly depreciated the intrinsic value of the coin. It held its own, however, in the market as against the purer Baroda rupee, and the consequence was that the merchants purchased an immense quantity of Baroda money to transmit it as bullion to Ahmadábád, making thereby a profit of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. So great was the drain on the State, that bills for a lák and a half could not be cashed and the current expenses of the army could not be defrayed except at a loss of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Baroda mint itself was closed for two years. Captain Carnac was driven to ask the Bombay Government for a loan of specie on behalf of the Gáikvád, and, owing to the great indebtedness of the State at this time, he had great difficulty in obtaining 25 thousand dollars, or a sum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lákhs. Captain Carnac found reason at this period to complain of the Broach coin, and described the mints at Baroda, Ahmadábád and Petlád as being in a state of negligence.

The Bráhmans.—This history is a very brief one, and, as it pretends to take the reader down to the present day, it is natural that some points should of set purpose be but lightly touched, and that others should be altogether omitted. Just as in the records of the conquest of the land little or no mention has

been made of the tributary States with the exception of Káthiávád, so, in bringing before the reader the various classes of rulers, the Mahárájas, the Residents, the Diváns, the Sardárs, the State bankers and the Farmers of the Revenue, it is not to be wondered at if the Maráthá Bráhmaṇs receive less attention than their power and influence deserve. The omission, however, is plainly stated, nor should it be concealed that the difficulty of dealing with the matter has hindered the writer from dwelling on it at any length.

It must at once strike the observant reader of the history of the Baroda State that the great family of Diváns which gave its government such powerful chiefs as Rávji Áppáji, Bábáji Áppáji, Sítarám Rávaji and the two Viṭhal Rávs, was a Parbhú one. At the same time he will bear in mind that this family was introduced into Gujarát by Govind Ráv after his long sojourn at Poona. This was just the period when the Gáikváds, after a protracted struggle, tendered their complete submission to the Peshvá, when a great deal of Bráhmaṇ influence began to make itself felt, and when the Poona Darbár supplied Baroda with several great Bráhmaṇ Sardárs. There is no startling evidence, therefore, to be obtained from this circumstance of any attempt on the part of the Gáikváds to counterbalance the political influence of the Bráhmaṇs by a large introduction of the Parbhú element. Yet this is what we might have expected to see done if we remember that the Gáikvád was

the head of the party opposed to the Maráthá Bráhmans: if we remember, too, that it was the great Sivájí's policy to place a Parbhú by the side of a Bráhmaṇ in every págá, every fort, and every district he possessed. We shall not, therefore, positively state that the Gaikvād made use of the Parbhús partially to exclude the Bráhmans from power, or that he fully entrusted the administration of his country to men of the latter caste. We shall leave the point to be considered by those who have made a study of the rise of the Maráthá Bráhmans to power, and shall content ourselves with affirming that in the latter portion of the history of Baroda, Bráhmans exercised great power.

With the exception of Venírám Áditráṁ, no Nágar Bráhmaṇ has ever risen to be chief minister to the Gaikvād, perhaps for the simple reason that the Maráthás were strong enough to do without them. No information will be given in this history of the State charities save of the Kicheḍí or distribution of cooked rice to the Bráhmans. But it should be noticed here that the manner in which this charity is dispensed goes far to prove that it was the Maráthá Bráhmans who obtained the exclusive advantage of religious grants, for the Gujarát Bráhmans do not partake of the kicheḍi. Let us bear this in mind when we recall that the Hindus of Gujarát called in the Maráthás to destroy the Moghul rule and the Mussalmán religion.

Of the state Religious Charities nothing will here be said, for it is only by a more detailed research

into particulars than lay within our scope that an accurate estimate could be formed of their extent and of the political as well as religious motives which gave rise to them. We may perhaps venture upon two assertions. The Baroda State has been termed the Dharma Ráj or charitable kingdom, because of the munificence with which the Gáikváds have scattered their gifts among the priestly classes, though no doubt the very holy and ancient renown of the Gujarát they conquered may have had something to do with it. Yet, apparently, it is only in quite modern times that these gifts assumed extraordinary proportions. The first struggle to conquer the country and the second struggle to cope with the Peshvá narrowed the means of the earlier Gáikváds, whatever their wishes may have been. The economical spirit of the British period and the parsimonious character of Sayáji would not admit of any extravagance. But Khaṇḍe Ráv and Malhár Ráv found themselves in a position to spend much money, and a great deal of it went towards enriching Bráhmaṇs, an easy method of acquiring a certain kind of fame. It is more difficult to explain, what undoubtedly occurred, how Khaṇḍe Ráv extended his charities to the Mussalmáns, though we may not be far wrong in imagining that there was some domestic influence at work. It is only fair to add that there are people who deny that there was any great increase of State charities during the reign of the last two Maharájas. They affirm that, though there was an apparent augmentation of one lákḥ per annum, this simply arose

from a more correct and central system of accounts, whereby the action of the Izárdárs was excluded and the State revenue and expenditure equally enlarged.

The Kichedí System.—In all Hindu States the custom of distributing food among Bráhmaṇs has been a common one: in Baroda it has existed from the beginning. In S. 1861 (A.D. 1804-5) the old system of distributing cooked food was changed into one of giving to each Bráhmaṇ applicant, male or female, man or child, rich or poor, a seer (40 Rs. weight) of uncooked rice mixed with dāl in proportions of two to one. On the four Mondays and the two Ekádashís of every month, in fact on fast-days, instead of food one pie per head is given away. Khaṇḍe Ráv reduced the number of non-distribution days, and during his reign and that of Malhár Ráv, though the amount of the individual gift did not increase, the cost grew with the larger number of recipients and the enhanced cost of grain.

In S. 1916 (A.D. 1860-61) Khaṇḍe Ráv instituted the "Gyarmi" System, by which every Mussalmán, irrespective of sex or age, is entitled on demand to receive a certain quantity of cooked rice, to which on feast-days meat was added. Malhár Ráv abolished the distribution of meat. At a venture we place the number of daily recipients of this State charity at several thousands, say from three to ten thousand. It is not merely that able-bodied men and women, and persons in receipt of good salaries have hitherto been gratuitously fed, whereby idle or well-to-do people are maintained at the public cost; but the

custom tends to attract to the unfortunate capital of the State a large number of worthless foreigners, and to lower the whole moral tone of the place.

The end of Khande Ráv's reign.—We have already mentioned that Ganpat Ráv's Minister, Bháu Tambekar, was dismissed in 1854 at the instance of Colonel Outram, and that no accredited Minister took his place till the end of the Mahárája's reign, which occurred on the 20th of November 1856. The title of Diván had for many years remained in the family of Rávji Appáji, and the Minister had simply been termed *karbhári*. After the fall of Bháu Tambekar, Govind Ráv Pándurang Rode, the brother of Sayáji's adviser Sakhárám, took the lead in the administration, but there was added to him in a somewhat subordinate position Ganesh Sadáshíva Oze, of whom we have already heard. These two men were at the outset termed *kárbháris*, but owing to the services they rendered during the Mutiny, which were noticed and rewarded by the British Government as well as by His Highness Khande Ráv, each obtained the sanad of diván on the 28th of March 1857. Oze was dismissed from office as early as March 1867, and Rode continued in sole power till the 10th of November 1867. On that date he too was dismissed, and died shortly after, 16th July 1868. We have said that Bháu Tambekar had something to recommend him; he was not wasteful in his expenditure. Ganesh Oze also is fairly entitled to praise for attempting to place some restraint on Khande Ráv, but of Govind Ráv Pándurang

Rode the same cannot be said. There was, however, a regularly descending scale of merit in the Minister as Khaṇḍe Ráv's reign proceeded; and in Bháú Shinde, who was diván from the 17th of November 1867 to the 24th of November 1869, we find a man more ignorant and selfishly interested in flattering his master than any of his predecessors.

Naráyaṇ Ráv Bháú Shinde was appointed during the absence of the Resident, while Colonel Arthur was officiating, and the previous sanction of the Bombay Government was not obtained. He was the much-beloved servant of his prince, and we shall not dwell here on the character of his administration or on events which have so lately taken place. Suffice it to say that in 1869 he was convicted of having offered a bribe to the Assistant Resident, Captain Salmon, and that his dismissal by Khaṇḍe Ráv was thereupon demanded by the Bombay Government. His Highness, who loved him as a brother, long fought against the step, but he was at length compelled nominally to send him away. Nimbáji Ráv Dhaule, an uneducated man, was appointed acting Minister, but he had no real authority and Bháú Shinde remained to the end the Maharája's confidential adviser.

After a reign of 14 years Khaṇḍe Ráv Maharáj died suddenly and in the prime of life at his palace of Makarpúra on the 20th of November 1870. He was fortunate in this, that during his time a period of agricultural prosperity kept his subjects contented, while he was enabled to satisfy his own love of

display by imposing on them taxes which in a few years were discovered to be unbearably heavy. Colonel Barr described his rule as one of reform and real progress, but subsequent criticism will scarcely bear out such a view. Reforms, as we have pointed out, were attempted, but there was an absence of skill and thoroughness in them which went far to deprive them of any solid value, and the latter portion of his reign was not of a nature to command the respect of any disinterested person.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MALHÁR RÁV GÁIKVÁP.

Neither individuals nor governments become suddenly vicious. If some great unexpected crime startles the world, subsequent examination discloses a gradual descent to the depth of infamy which appears to law-abiding men to be too low for anything but imagination to reach.

Fate Sing fought his brother Govind Ráv, and the latter, when he ascended the gádí, turned out *en masse* his brother's adherents. Kánoji when in power treated his relatives most brutally, and Sayáji was remorseless in his hate of those of his family who schemed to overthrow him. The selfishness which turned the members of the House against one another had again and again driven the Gáikváds to commit the worst offences. Gangádhār Shástrí was not the only victim of the impatient cupidity of aspirants to power: it was not in joke that Ganpat Ráv Mahárája received a letter, purporting to be from his minister to his brother and successor, in which he was threatened with the fate that had overtaken Fate Sing in his youth. In the mad competition for unlicensed enjoyment all restraint was for years felt to be most galling; and on some dark occasions it is possible that bad means were em-

ployed to get rid of the irksome advice of too upright or rigid a Resident. If Colonel Outram escaped the machinations of his opponents not without injury to himself, others, like Mr. Williams, fell victims to cruel plots. Bad means, we say, had been used to get power, and to what useful or honourable ends had the power thus obtained ever been put? Anand Ráv died with his eyes fixed on his much-loved jewel-room. Sayáji amassed private treasures which Khande Ráv scattered in display or parted with to favourites and Malhár Ráv went on to dissipate among creatures of a more abject type. It is not, however, on the reigning princes that all the blame of these evils should be heaped. It is true that the ruler is responsible for his administration, but the training of the Gáikváds led them to surround themselves with ignorant and rapacious people, whose one object was to get as large as possible a share of the spoils. Relatives, servants, ministers, favourites, religious and military blood-suckers, money-lenders, jewellers, courtesans, formed an infamous crew, whose ill deeds still haunt the State, and whose memory should be ever freshly cursed.

There is generally a gradual approach to a catastrophe, but often as the end comes nearer the downward rush is terribly rapid, and a sort of madness drives the criminal now, as it were, the victim of fate, on to headlong destruction. This was the case with Malhár Ráv, whose deeds were the bad but not unnatural outcome of the past, for the

circumstances which directly led to his deposition were not isolated or exceptional or the results of any strange mischance.

In 1857 Malhár Ráv, then about 25 years of age, was more or less implicated in an attempt to plunder Ahmadábád with the aid of the Kolís of the Bījápúr district and of the British district of Khedá. A part of the plot was to raise the country north of the capital, and then to advance on Baroda and depose the reigning Gáikvád Khande Ráv. No measures were at the time taken to punish Malhár Ráv as he seemed to be too deficient in intellect to be dangerous. Nevertheless, in 1863, he a second time took part in a conspiracy to kill his brother by sorcery, poison or shooting. And again Colonel Wallace, as Sir R. Shakespeare before him had done, saved him because "he was intellectually feeble and apparently "irresponsible for his actions." The chief person suborned to murder Khande Ráv was a military man who subsequently revealed the whole plot and then narrowly escaped the vengeance of Malhár Ráv's accomplices, who attempted to shoot him while he was lying on his bed. In consequence of this plot Malhár Ráv was confined as a State prisoner in Pádrá at a short distance from Baroda, the village to which Kánoji had, earlier in the century, been relegated for some years. It was from this wretched place that he was released to ascend the gádí, and one of his first acts was to set free the men implicated in the plot of which mention has just been made. While he was still at Pádrá, in 1867, a

fresh conspiracy against Khande Ráv was planned by some of his confidential attendants. It was, however, fortunately discovered, and its only result was the execution of some and the imprisonment of others of the criminals concerned. It was on the 12th of March 1867 that the last execution by elephant trampling took place in Baroda, and on that occasion the British Government extracted a promise from the Gáikvád that this terrible mode of death should no longer be inflicted on any person.

When Khande Ráv died, Colonel Barr hastened to attend on Malhár Ráv, (then 43 years of age,) at Pádrá, and informed him that he was at once to enter the capital. He was indeed the deceased chief's sole surviving brother; but, as Her Highness Jamná Báí declared herself to be *enceinte*, the British Government could only give a provisory sanction to his accession, till it was known whether the child to be born was a boy or a girl (1st December 1870).

Colonel Barr thought well of Malhár Ráv's early efforts, and it is probable that the latter did at first try to conciliate the British Government. Nor should we refrain here from bestowing a word of approval on the aged Gopál Ráv Mairál, whom Malhár Ráv appointed as his diván, for he was a man much respected in Baroda for many qualities which the natives greatly appreciate. It is true that he held his post for little more than one year, and that his advanced age incapacitated him from playing a very vigorous part, but confidence

was generally placed in him, and it is a pleasure to think that he alone of all the diváns and kárbháris that have for a great length of time risen to the top at Baroda died a natural death while still in office, and suffered no disgrace.¹

But Malhár Ráv also came into power with the full determination to avenge the sufferings he had endured. There is little doubt that Her Highness Jamná Báí was frightened into demanding a safe refuge for herself till her unborn child should see the light, and the British Residency was consequently placed at her disposal till, on the 5th July 1871, the girl, Tára Báí, was born. Six months later Her Highness was allowed to quit Gujarát, as she then thought for ever. The Rání Rahamá Báí with justice also complained that she had been ill-treated. The favourites and dependents of the late Maharája were most harshly dealt with. They were all turned out of employment, and, though Malhár Ráv justified the step on the plea that the State was at least two crores of rupees in debt, so sweeping was the measure which bore on these men that an immense annual saving was made, a saving to be quickly expended in other directions. But there was one man against whom Malhár Ráv had a particular hatred. Bháú Shinde, to wit, the friend and councillor of the late Rájá, who had greatly insisted on keeping the prince in confinement. He was cast into prison and never left it alive; and there are good reasons for fearing that he was poisoned on the 1st of May 1872, in the same dark and cruel

way as two other favourites, Govind Ráv Náik and Rávji Master. Bháu Shinde's family, it is scarcely necessary to add, was stripped of all its wealth.

Malhár Ráv's plea that the State was in debt was a true one, though he subsequently did little to reform the finances. The estimated revenue for the year 1870-71 was Rs. 1,37,00,000, while the expenditure on the army and for the Devasthán, Dhármada and State establishments amounted to Rs. 1,15,00,000; but the private expenses of the Mahárája had at the same time been enormous. As the Commission that sat in 1874 said: "During the last six or seven years of Khande Ráv's life, government, bad as it was, underwent a serious decadence: the proceedings of the chief were more arbitrary than previously, new cesses² and levies were imposed, without consideration of the previously heavy assessments to which the rayats were subject, and the collection of the government dues was enforced by the local officials by harsh and compulsory measures."

But Malhár Ráv did not, it has been stated, seriously intend to reform the finances, and as this question of revenue is a most important one, the following remark is quoted at length: "During the time of the rebellion in the United States, the prices of Indian cotton rose to an extraordinary degree from 1 or 1½ anna to a rupee in the pound. The Baroda State includes a large extent of ground suitable for the growth of cotton, and, in consequence of the rise of price, the cultivation of cotton greatly increased, and a very remunerative crop was pro-

duced. During this period the cultivators were able to pay a very high assessment, and in 1864 a revenue settlement was introduced upon the basis of the high cotton rates then in force. The expenditure of the State was recklessly increased. On the close of the American war the price of cotton fell, but the land settlement remained in force. The government demand upon the agriculturists became continually more difficult to meet, and the measures of the government grew only more severe. Much good land had to be abandoned, the arrears at the close of S. 1930 had amounted to 70 or 80 lákhs, and the last instalment of that year was almost wholly unrealized."

To anticipate what was coming. On the 25th July 1874 the Resident was instructed to advise Malhár Ráv, amongst other things, "to prohibit the barbarous processes for realizing revenues, and to remove the causes of discontent by a moderate and equitable land settlement." His Highness did not take the advice in good part, and matters grew worse instead of better. Finally, when Sir Lewis Pelly took the reins of government into his hands, a proclamation had to be issued promising reductions in the rate of assessment where equitable, the absolute remission of arrears for five years, S. 1928-27, and for the years S. 1928-30 no arrears were to be demanded until after full enquiry had been made. These were sweeping measures, but the evil had become unbearable, whole villages had been depopulated, and all over the State the rayats had begun

to offer a passive resistance to the demands of government.

There is no better way of realizing the utter disorder into which the State finances had fallen than to remember that in the year in which Malhár Ráv's reign came to an end the local revenue of all kinds amounted to only 94 lákhs, while 171 lákhs had been spent. So slight too was the distinction drawn between the private property of the Gúikvád and the revenue properly to be devoted to State wants, that on the arrest of Malhár Ráv a few thousand rupees only were found in the public treasury, while 40 lákhs were discovered hid away in the palace, and it became apparent that other large sums had been privately remitted abroad.

It remains only to add that Malhár Ráv, during his brief reign, not merely maintained with increasing severity the high rates of assessment imposed by his brother, but resorted to the most reprehensible of the old means the Gúikváds had employed to raise money. In addition to the great burden of the overtaxed rayat, he imposed on him a heavy "accession nazaráná"; a large impost of the same nature was laid on the Vahívátdárs, and these, being for the most part men of no respectability, recouped themselves ten-fold by robbing the taxpayers, while the sovereign was unwilling to listen to complaints against the employés who had in a manner purchased their right to peculate.

Finally Malhár Ráv did not scruple to strain his relations with the bankers who had long supplied

the government with ready means, hoping to drive bargains with new men, and to dispossess in an arbitrary manner inám holders and holders of hereditary emoluments of their property. By this course of action he quickly managed to turn against himself the common people, the Sardárs and military class, the bankers and moneyed men, till the cry of the multitude reached the ears of the British Government.

Note ¹, p. 338.—Much has been said in this history of the State Bankers and Potadárs and confidential advisers of the Mahárája. As typical of these three classes of men we throw into the shape of a note a brief account of Gopál Ráv Mairál and his origin.

Mairál Bháú, who belonged to Jámhbekar's family, was a native of Multán, in the Bhimtharí talúk, zilla Poona. He came to Baroda in S. 1840, and at first attached himself for a short time to the Faḍnáv's house. He, soon after his arrival, accompanied Dámáji on his expedition into the Southern Maráṭhā Country, where he collected some wealth. He did not therefore become proud, but, returning to Baroda with the force, assiduously applied himself to business, and greatly distinguished himself by his patience, energy and intelligence. Among other matters he got employment for several Siledárs and Sardárs, and through them greatly extended his money-lending transactions. At certain great crises of the history of the State he lent the Gáikvād large sums of money, and soon became indispensable to that prince. He recommended himself to the British by his honesty, and from them obtained a guarantee. In S. 1877, having no issue, he adopted Gopál Ráv, and died in S. 1881.

Gopál Ráv Mairál was born at Bhálad, on the Nerbada, in S. 1870. After his adoption he was carefully taught accounts, &c., in a common vernacular school. The politeness of his manners recommended him to all classes, but his devotion to and faith in Gaṇpati, his honesty and munificent charity, marked him as something more than a man of the world. Sayáji Maháráj early

took a liking to him and often consulted him. In S. 1883 he farmed in succession almost all the maháls, Sinor, Koral, Dehagaun, Rúnd, Okhámanda], and the large subhás of Nausáí and Amreli. These maháls were managed by his three brothers, and their industry, together with the unsparing expenditure of money devoted to bringing waste lands under cultivation, recommended the House to the favourable support of Sayáji Ráv Maháráj and his three sons. In Sayáji's time he acted as diván for some time in the place of Veníráj, and then was diván to Malhár Ráv to the day of his death, which was hastened by the troubles he foresaw were coming on.

His children died young and he adopted Yeshvant Ráv, his nephew. But Yeshvant Ráv died suddenly in S. 1932, and a fresh adoption became necessary.

In Mairúl Bháú's time Haribáji Mahipat was Agent, in Gopál Ráv Mairúl's time the well-known Bápáji Anant Argade.

Note 2, p. 339.—As one of 10 per cent. on the revenue of all State land for one year for the construction of the Makarpúra palace, and another of smaller amount for the manufacture of a golden howdah, &c. The Makarpúra palace is said to have cost 20 lákhs. Malhár Ráv determined to make his brother's fame pale before his own, and bethinking himself of this edifice and of the two silver cannon produced by Khande Ráv, he hit on the following plan. He rubbed out his brother's name and he placed his own on the silver cannon, and then made two gold ones. He began pulling down Khande Ráv's palace, but was fortunately stopped by the Resident, and at a cost of 15 lákhs he erected the Nazar Bágh on land of which he dispossessed some of his subjects. It may be added that Ganpat Ráv built the Moti Bágh, and that nearly every Gaikvád had previously done the same thing, had rejected his predecessor's dwelling and built an unsuitable one for himself. There is now a new palace being built at a probable cost of from 15 to 20 lákhs.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE DEPOSITION OF MALHÁR RÁV GÁIKVÁD.

So much depends on the choice an irresponsible prince makes of his chief ministers that some allusion must here be made to the men who surrounded Malhár Ráv. The month after his accession he relieved Nimbúji Ráv Davale of his post as minister, and Haribá Gáikvád, assisted by Bhikobá Áná, conducted the work till in March 1871 Gopál Ráv Mairál became diván, a man of whom honourable mention was made in the last chapter. The chief private adviser of the prince was, however, another person, Balvant Ráv Rahúrkar who, if well meaning, was not strong. But these people were succeeded by others of a worse character, as the character of the reign itself deteriorated: Sayáji Náná Sáheb Khánvelkar became diván and Bápúji Ráv Mohite Sepápati. These two were the Gáikvád's brothers-in-law, and, if the latter had but little influence, the former was entrusted with large powers of which he made bad use, for he was an ignorant and avaricious man. Haribá Gáikvád was Revenue Commissioner, and was reputed a harsh officer, while under him served Náráyanbhái Lálbúhái, a worthless creature, who had previously been dismissed from the British service. Vasuntrám Bháu,

an unscrupulous agent of His Highness, was controller of banks, and the other members of the Court comprised such men as Govind Ráv Máma, Balyant Ráv Dev, and last, but by no means least, Dámodhar Pant.

One more remark is necessary before this brief record of important events can be continued. His Highness the Gáikvád is an independent prince, over whom nevertheless the British Government may by treaty exercise a certain restraint. It cannot here be explained at what point or in how great a degree this Government may and should interfere if the conduct of the Gáikvád appears to be blameworthy and mischievous. But it may not improperly be asserted that, considering the relations between a very weak and a very strong government, the right to advise and check the Gáikvád had for many years before Malhar Ráv's accession been exercised by the British Government with great moderation, and that this cautious policy had been explained to the princes of Baroda by very conciliatory Residents. At last a time came when the Bombay Government thought it proper to interfere, and a Resident was appointed who was full of zeal and quick to expose all evil-doing.

Colonel Phayre arrived at Baroda on the 18th of March 1873, and on the 22nd he learnt that eight men had been flogged in the streets of Baroda, that some of them had died in consequence, and that others were dying. The charge made against these men was that they had poisoned a

servant of the Maharája. A few days later came news that five thákúrs of the Bījápúr districts were out in open rebellion, refusing to pay the accession nazaráná. Other complaints came pouring in and found a hearing with the new Resident. Finally, when all these matters had been represented in the proper quarters, the Government of India directed a Commission of Enquiry into the complaints of British and Gáikvádí subjects and into the state of the contingent to meet in Gujarát. Colonel Meade, the President and Mumtáz-ud-dauláh Naváb Faiz Álí were appointed to sit on it by the Government of India, while the Government of Bombay selected two other members, Mr. Ravenscroft and Colonel Etheridge.

This Commission held its first sitting in Baroda on the 10th of November, its last at the same place on the 24th December 1873, but the report of its views was not sent in to Government till two months later. Great moderation was exercised in the conduct of the enquiry: no unnecessary interference with the details of the government of the Gáikvád was contemplated, and all individual grievances were referred to the prince. Nevertheless, after acquitting the Gáikvád's government of any notable ill-treatment of British subjects, the Commission found that Colonel Phayre's charge of general misgovernment was proved. No allusion need again be made to the wholesale reduction of the adherents of the late rájá, the accession nazaráná, the distressed condition of the rayats, the arbitrary

treatment of State and other bankers, of Khande Ráv's relatives and followers and of a great number of inám holders. It was also ascertained that many people had been personally ill-treated, and that respectable married and unmarried women had been forced to become "Loundís" or household slaves of the Gáikvád, or, in other words, that they had been forcibly abducted for purposes of prostitution.

The Government of India, approving of the suggestions of the Commission, did not interfere with the authority of the Mahárája, but warned him (25th January 1874) that he was to be held responsible, and called upon him within a brief time, (17 months, *i.e.* 31st December 1875,) to effect a thorough and lasting reform in the government of the Baroda State. The Mahárája was also requested to dismiss a number of the high officials about him, and to accept as his chief minister a person to be recommended by the Bombay Government.

No hearty attempt at reform was made; and the mode in which Malhár Ráv endeavoured to break the fall of his old minister, Náná Sáheb Khánvelkar, by giving him the post of Prithinidhí, did not meet with the cordial acknowledgment of Colonel Phayre (13th August 1874). Mr. Dádábhái Nauroji had also arrived at Baroda at the request of His Highness to conduct the administration with the assistance of four or five other Pársí gentlemen, but Colonel Phayre did not think that they would have the power granted to them of carrying out a reform.

In short the Resident and the Mahārāja did not pull well together, and unfriendly communications constantly passed from the Residency to the Palace on a hundred different matters. At length the Government of India determined to withdraw Colonel Phayre and to appoint in his stead, as Special Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General, and not as Resident acting under the orders of the Bombay Government, Colonel Sir Lewis Pelly (25th November 1874).

Meanwhile a person describing himself as the husband of the Mahārāja's kept mistress, Laxmī Bāi, had appeared in March 1874, and petitioned the Resident for the recovery of his wife. While an investigation into this man's petition was proceeding, His Highness on the 7th of May married the woman Laxmī Bāi who had been pregnant for two months, the Resident, under the orders of his Government, refusing to attend the marriage ceremony which took place in the town of Nausarī where he was then residing. On the 16th October 1874 a male child was born of Laxmī Bāi; but as there were doubts regarding his legitimacy, Sir Lewis Pelly, who was then in Baroda, did not pay him the honours generally given to the heir of the gādī.

On the 2nd of November Malhār Rāv had requested the Government of India to remove Colonel Phayre from Baroda, and on the 25th of that month Sir Lewis Pelly was actually appointed to the post of British representative at the Mahārāja's Court. In the interval between these two dates, that is, on the

9th November, Colonel Phayre was led to suspect that an attempt had been made to poison him. He had for some time previously suffered much from giddiness and a feeling of nausea, and by degrees he came to believe that this was the result of the sherbet made of pummalo juice which he was in the habit of drinking every morning. On the 9th, a short time after drinking some of this mixture, he felt a sudden squeamishness, and so got up and threw away the greater portion of the contents remaining in the tumbler. On replacing the tumbler, his eye suddenly fell on a strange dark sediment collected at the bottom, which it struck him might be poison. This sediment was almost immediately after examined by Dr. Seward, the Residency Surgeon, and declared by him to be composed of common white arsenic and diamond-dust.

Whatever suspicions may have been raised by this strange incident, which was immediately reported to the Bombay and Central Governments, no alteration was made in the plans of the Government of India. Sir Lewis Pelly came to Baroda and found matters in a very critical condition. The case of the cultivating classes was represented as desperate owing to the over-assessment of the land revenue, while the differences between the Sardárs and the Gáikvád threatened a serious disturbance of the peace. He accordingly took the reins of government into his own hands, while Mr. Dádábhái quietly resigned his office. It was not till December 1874 that a clue was found to the poison case owing to

the depositions of two Residency servants; Rávji, a havildár of peons, who confessed that he put a mixture into the sherbet; and Narsú, a jamáddár of peons, who, under a promise of pardon, avowed that he had abetted the act after having been bribed to do so by Malhár Ráv himself, who had presented him with the poison. In consequence of this and some other evidence, the Government of India issued a proclamation on the 13th January 1875, notifying that the Gáikvád had been arrested, and that it had assumed on behalf of the Queen the administration of the State, pending the result of an enquiry into the conduct of Malhár Ráv.

This action was not based on Municipal law; it was an act of State. The enquiry was to be conducted by a Commission consisting of Sir Richard Couch, the Chief Justice of Bengal, as President; of Sir Richard Meade and Mr. P. Melvill, and of two Native Princes and a man of great name, the Mahárája Sindia, the Máhárája of Jaipúr, and Sir Dinkar Ráv. This tribunal was not a judicial one, but merely formed a committee which should report to the Government of India their opinions or answers on four points with regard to the degree of complicity of Malhár Ráv in the attempt made to poison Colonel Phayre.

The Commission lasted from the 23rd February to the 31st March 1875. The fourth count was, "that in fact an attempt to poison Colonel Phayre was made by persons instigated thereto by Malhár Ráv." The English members of the Commission were of

opinion that such an attempt so instigated had been made. Two of the Native Commissioners found that Malhár Ráv was proved guilty on the minor counts, of which no mention need here be made, but acquitted him on that count to which any great importance might be attached. The Government of India found themselves unable to reconcile certain points produced in evidence and established at the trial with the hypothesis of Malhár Ráv's innocence. They therefore, on the 15th April 1875, proposed to the Secretary of State, that Malhár Ráv should be deposed, that Sir T. Mádava Ráv should be invited to conduct the administration, and that Her Highness Jamná Báí, the widow of the late Khande Ráv Mahárája, who had during the Mutiny proved himself the friend of the British, should adopt from the family of the Gáikváds a son who might at once ascend the gádí.

Her Majesty's Government however took a different view of the case. It refused to assume that the case had been proved, and therefore set aside all the proceedings of the Commission, but deposed the Mahárája on grounds which will now be specified. On the 19th of April 1875 a proclamation was issued by the Government of India to the effect that Malhár Ráv was deposed, "not that the British Government have assumed that the result of the enquiry has been to prove the truth of the imputation against His Highness, but, having regard to all the circumstances relating to the affairs of Baroda from the accession of H. H. Malhár Ráv,

“his notorious misconduct, his gross misgovernment of the State, and his evident incapacity to “carry into effect necessary reforms.”

Accordingly, on the 22nd April 1875, Malhár Ráv was quietly deported to Madras, where he has since resided under the surveillance of a British officer, but in the enjoyment of a very comfortable income and in the company of his family. During no time of the trial was any attempt made by the people or the troops in Baroda to oppose the action of the British Government. But a few days after the deposition, that is, on the 28th of April, a serious *emeute* did take place in Baroda connected with an attempt to seat Malhár Ráv's son by Laxmí Báí on the gádí. It was however suppressed without difficulty after a force of Artillery, Infantry and Cavalry had been sent down from the camp by Sir Richard Meade to occupy the city. In fact the only deplorable incidents connected with the fall of Malhár Ráv and the rise of his successor were the suicide of one, and the very feeble attempt at a rebellion made by another of two brothers, members of the Gáikvád family and aspirants on insufficient grounds to the gádí. Morár Ráv, who shot himself, and Sadúshív Ráv, who is now residing at Benares under surveillance, were the sons of that Govind Ráv who was adopted by Fate Sing's widow, on the understanding that he should inherit the Regent's private property but should have no claim on the gádí.

A.D. 1875.]

CHAPTER XXX.

ACCESSION OF SAYÁJI RÁV MAHÁRÁJA—ADMINISTRATION OF RÁJA' SIE T. MÁDAVA RÁV.

On the 2nd of May 1875 Her Highness Jamná Báí returned to Baroda, and on the following day the widow of Khande Ráv entered the palace of the Gáikvád. On the 27th of May 1875 His Highness the present Mahárája was adopted by the Maharání Jamná Báí Súheb and seated on the gádí. The genealogical tree in Appendix I. will show the steps through which this youth traces his descent from Piláji, the founder of the house. Of the recognition of his father as a Gáikvád by Malhár Ráv or of the care taken by the Bombay Government to test the legality of his claims no mention need here be made. It is of greater interest to note how by a freak of fortune an uneducated lad of about 13 years of age was taken from an obscure village in distant Khándesh suddenly to become the adopted son of a Mahárája and the future possessor of great power and riches. It cannot be prophesied that Sayáji Ráv will prove deserving of his astonishing good fortune, and friends forbear to talk of the promise of princes. But there are certain qualities of the more enduring kind which may perhaps be counted on to abide in him—industry, determination,

self-command, and the law-abiding mood. Time will show what is the worth of Sayáji Ráv, on whom at Delhi on the 1st of January 1877 was conferred the title of Farzand-i-Khás-i-Daulat-i-Engleshia (own favoured son of the British Empire). On the 6th of July 1878 Her Highness was invested with the Imperial Order of the Crown of India.

On the 16th of May 1875, Sir T. Mádava Ráv, K.C.S.I.,¹ was formally installed as Minister, though he had entered on his duties of forming a new administration some six days earlier. On the same day on which the Mahárája obtained his new title, Sir T. Mádava Ráv was presented by the British Government with the honorary rank of Rájá, and since then some of the chief officers of the State have received the honourable appellation of Khán Báhádur or Ráv Báhádur.²

The affectionate title bestowed on the Mahárája, and the honours assigned to the minister and the chief officers of the State marked, it is true, the moment when the Queen of England became Empress of India, when the connection between the two countries she rules was declared to be close and lasting. But in the case of no other State in India was that moment simultaneous with a sudden great change destined to make the relations between the Native Prince and British sovereign far more friendly and advantageous in the future than in the past. May the concurrence of the two events prove to be an auspicious omen to the Gáikvád House and the State of Baroda.

The events, the dates of which we have just given, mark indeed the introduction of a new order of things. A link connects the past with the future; for to the wife of the prince who had stood loyally by the British in 1857 was assigned the privilege of choosing a son and a successor to the Mahārāja Khande Rāv. The act of adoption also marks the nature of the policy selected by the British Government. Towards the family of the Gāikvāds there was no feeling but of friendliness; for the independence of the Native State there was an anxiety displayed which reassured the innumerable spectators of the act of deposition: but at the individual who had proved unworthy of his high post, whose tyranny had turned against him every class of his subjects; a blow was struck. Still, though the head of the State was alone punished, with his fall it was intended that the vicious system of government he represented should come to an end. We have read how in the earlier years of this century a British army was subsidized, the administration of the State carried on for nearly twenty years by a Commission of which the British Resident or his agent was the chief member, and the right of checking the great officers of State or of examining and rigidly controlling the revenues was assumed to belong to the British Government. Now one single decisive act was to accomplish that which a long series of interferences failed effectually to perform, and the Baroda government was to be warned and not driven to conduct itself in such a way as not to deserve the censure

of its powerful ally. Instead of Malhár Ráv, a boy of thirteen would begin a fresh career, and during the interval which separated him from manhood, an able and energetic minister would set his house in order. "For the rest," the argument might have run, "we may trust to the changes which have been wrought throughout India in which the Baroda State is an anachronism. Let the people of Baroda be once placed in the position which has been won for the subjects of other Native States, and no return to a primitive mode of government will be possible. The general progress has been so marked, the concurrence of native princes in this progress has become so evident, that, when once the course of Baroda History has been turned into a new channel, there will be no way left it to go back."

Note ¹, p. 354.—Sir T. Mádava Ráv was born in A.D. 1828 in the district of Tanjore and is the son of one and the nephew of another of the diváns of Travancore. By caste a Bráhmaṇ, by race a Maráṭhā, he was educated by Mr. Powell at the Madras University, and subsequently, for a short period, acted on behalf of his instructor as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. After a time he was appointed English Instructor to the two princes of Travancore, one of whom is now the ruler of that country and the other the heir apparent. Then from Assistant Diván he became Diván in 1858, and held the post for fourteen years. For his services during this time he was made Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India on the 20th of June 1866. He retired in May 1872. But in 1873 he was invited by Holkar to become his Prime Minister, and in April 1875 the Government of India, with the consent of H. H. the Mahārāja Holkar, transferred him to the high post he now occupies. An interesting paper, entitled "Native Statesmen," in the *Calcutta Review* LV. of 1872, relates how he set upon its

legs the priest-ridden debt-burdened State of Travancore; and with reference to the Baroda State the paper has this value, that it gives the sketch of a policy which in many respects resembles that according to which he conducts his present Administration.

Note ², p. 355.—On several occasions the advisers of Sayáji Ráv, Khaṇḍe Ráv, and Malhár Ráv have been mentioned by name. There is no reason why, because we are now dealing with present events, the names should be omitted of those men to whom Sir T. Mádaya Ráv is much indebted.

1 Khán Báháḍúr Kázi Sháháb-ud-dín (Revenue Commissioner).

2 Khán Báháḍúr Pestonji Jahángír (Settlement Officer and Military Secretary).

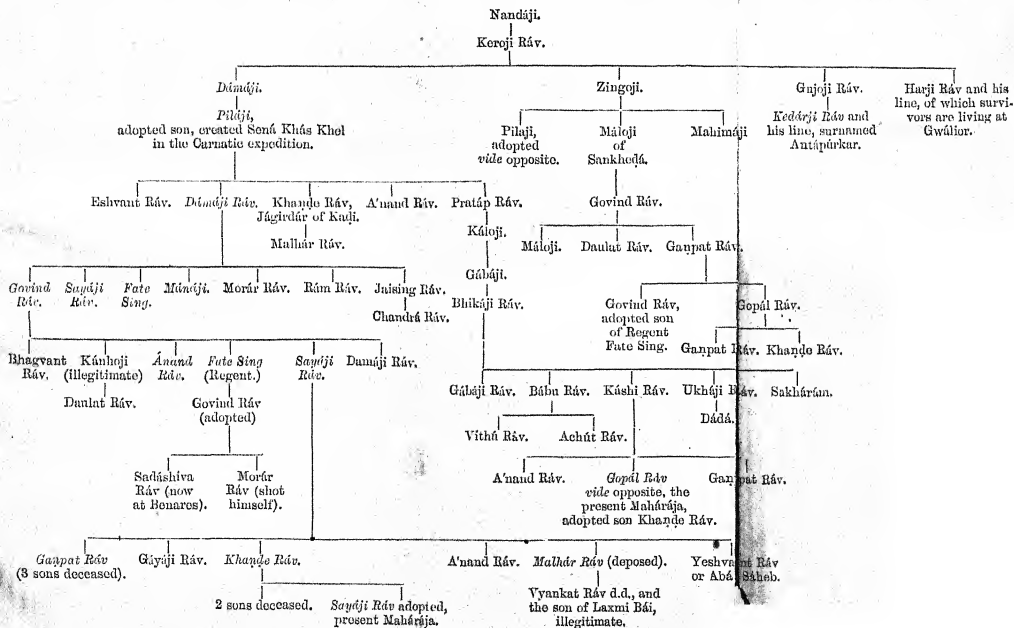
3 Ráv Báháḍúr Vináyek Ráv Janárdan (Náib Diván).

4 Khán Báháḍúr Karsetji Rastumji (Chief Justice).

5 Mr. Janárdan Sakhárám Gádgil, B.A., LL.B.

Appendix I.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE GAIKVAD HOUSE.



Appendix II.

LIST OF BRITISH RESIDENTS AT THE
BARODA COURT.

	From	To	
Major A. Walker	11th July 1802	1809	
Captain J. Rivett Carnac (<i>acting</i>) ...	1809	...	
Colonel A. Walker.....	1810	1810	
Major J. Rivett Carnac	1810	May 1820	
Mr. C. Norris (<i>acting</i>)	1st June 1820	May 1821	
Mr. J. Williams ...	The Resident was also Po- litical Com- missioner of Gujarat from 1st December 1830 to Au- gust 1844.	May 1821	Nov. 1837
Mr. J. Sutherland.		Nov. 1837	June 1840
Mr. D. S. Boyd ...		June 1840	July (Aug. P) 1844
Mr. T. Ogilvie, 1st Assistant in charge, and Mr. Remington	July 1844	July 1845	
Sir R. K. Arbuthnot	July 1845	April 1846	
Mr. W. Andrews (<i>acting</i>)	April 1846	May 1847	
Colonel J. Outram	May 1847	Oct. 1848	
Captain P. T. French (<i>acting</i>)	Oct. 1848	May 1850	
Colonel J. Outram.....	May 1850	Jan. 1852	
Mr. J. M. Davies	Jan. 1852	June 1853	
Mr. G. B. Seton Karr (<i>acting</i>)	June 1853	Mar. 1854	
Colonel J. Outram } Major D. A. Mal- } colm..... } Major C. Davidson } Sir R. Shakes- } peare	Under the Government of India.	Mar. 1854	May 1854
		May 1854	Nov. 1855
		Feb. 1856	Mar. 1857
		Mar. 1857	May 1859
Colonel R. Wallace (till 17th Nov. 1860)	Aug. 1859	Jan. 1866	
Colonel J. T. Barr	Jan. 1866	May 1867	
Colonel E. P. Arthur (<i>acting</i>)	May 1867	Nov. 1867	

Colonel J. T. Barr	Nov. 1867	April 1872
Colonel A. G. Shortt (<i>acting</i>)	April 1872	Mar. 1873
Colonel R. Phayre.....	Mar. 1873	Dec. 1874
Sir Lewis Pelly..	<div> <div> { Agent Gover- nor General and Special Commission- er. } </div> </div>	Apr. 1875
Sir R. Meade.....		Nov. 1875
Mr. P. S. Melvill, C. S. I., Agent Gover- nor General	Nov. 1875	

Appendix III.

LIST OF DIVA'NS OF THE BARODA STATE.

Devdji Tākapir and Māhaddji Govind Kākirde, St. 1800.

Mādhava Nimbaji Fanikar.

Rāmchandra Baswant.

Baldji Yamaji (acted while his cousin Rāmchandra was in confinement at Poona with Dāmaji).

Gopal Nāik Tāmbekar.

Antaji Nagesh, St. 1834.

Rāmchandra Bhāskar, St. 1844.

Rāvji A'ppdji, the first of the "divāns," came to Baroda with Govind Rāv in December 1793 and died in July 1803.

Sitārām Rāvji, his adopted son, succeeded him immediately and continued in power till A.D. 1807. The sanad of divānship was granted to him and to his family when he was dismissed in A.D. 1807; the title and emoluments were continued to him and his family (with certain changes) till the death of Ganpat Rāv, the infant son of Nārāyan Rāv, the son of Sitārām, in about A.D. 1842.

Bābdji A'ppdji, the brother of Rāvji, was Kārbhāri and Khāsgi Valā from S. 1803 to S. 1808, when Fate Sing acquired the full powers of Regent. Bābdji, however, continued to be Khāsgi Valā till his death, on the 28th November 1810, and then his son Viṭhal Rāv Bhāu was Khāsgi Valā for two years. After that, his work became merely nominal, and as such was handed on to his son Bhāskar Rāv Viṭhal, who lost his guarantee in A.D. 1856.

Gangādhar Shāstri was in power from A.D. 1813 to the 14th July 1815 (when he was assassinated) and bore the title Mātālik.

Dhākji Dādaji was chief minister from the 12th of October 1819 to January 1820 or a little later.

Viṭhal Rāv Bhāu was then for a short time nominally minister, but *Viṭhal Rāv Divānji* was joined to him in the office even in

A.D. 1820, and in 1822 became sole minister. In A.D. 1828 he was dismissed by Sayáji Ráv.

Gopál Atmáram Devadar (Gopál Pant Dádá) was kárbhári from A.D. 1829—1833: but during that time and in the interval between 1828 and 1829, Venfrám Aditrám and Bháú Púráník were the Mahárája's confidential advisers.

Venfrám Aditrám was kárbhári from A.D. 1833 to the 28th November 1839, when he was dismissed at Sir James Carnac's request.

After this time there was no accredited kárbhári till some months after the death of Sayáji. Gañesh Sadáshivá Oze, Assistant in the Fadnávis department, was, during the greater part of this time, a sort of secretary to His Highness. The confidential advisers are Bápú Argade, Bábá Náfađe, Bháú Púráník, Gopál Ráv Mairál, and Sakharám Pándurang Rode.

Bháú Támbekar (Viñhal Khañđe Ráv) was kárbhári from A.D. 1849 to 1854.

Gañesh Sadáshivá Oze and *Govind Ráv Pándurang Rode*, the brother of Sakharám, then became joint kárbháris, though the latter of the two was the chief. They took office in 1855 and continued to be called kárbháris till their sanad of diván was granted to them on the 28th March 1857. Oze was dismissed in March 1861, and Rode continued sole diván till the 10th of November 1867, when he too was dismissed (died 10th January 1868).

Bháú Shinde, with the high title of Dúrandar Nidhi, (pillar of the State), was diván from the 17th November 1867 to the 24th November 1869, when he was dismissed at the instance of the Bombay Government, but remained Khañđe Ráv's private adviser.

Nimbáji Dádá (Dhavale) then became officiating diván from the 25th November 1869 to a fortnight after Khañđe Ráv Mahárája's death, which occurred on the 28th November 1870.

Haribá Dádá was then diván for about four months, and was assisted by Bhikobá (Gaikvád) Aná.

Gopál Ráv Mairál was next appointed diván on the 22nd of March 1871, and, unlike his predecessors, retained the office till his death in 1872. The Náib Diván for four months was Balvant Ráv Bhi-cáji Báhrúkar.

Shivaji Ráv (Náná Sáheb) Khánvelkar, brother to the Mahárája's first wife, was diván from the 5th of March 1873 to the 4th of August 1874. He was then requested to be removed by the Resident, but was promoted to be Prathinidhi.

Dáddabhái Nauroji was then diván from the 4th of August 1874 to the 7th of January 1875.

Rájá Sir T. Mádava Ráv was appointed minister on the 10th May 1875 and still holds the post. During occasional periods of leave his work has been carried on by Khán Báhádur Kazi Shaháb-ud-dín.

Appendix IV.

Territories obtained by the Gáikvád on the "Partition of Gújarát."

First.—In the A'malí Maháls, i.e. the country which had been fully reduced, he obtained—

1st.—In the Surat Aththávisí—

Parganá.	Svaráj. Rs.	Moghlaí. Rs.	Jamá. Rs.	Rs.
Vasráí	64,000	.....	64,000	
Mándavi	30,500	.....	30,500	
Tarkesvar	6,500	.....	6,500	
Kámrej	30,000	14,000	44,000	
Chaurási	1,05,000	32,500	1,37,500	
Bulesvar	60,000	25,000	85,000	
* Kadode	500	.....	500	
* Tembe.....	.....	500	500	
Teládi	66,500	6,000	72,500	
Maroli	40,000	2,500	42,500	
Gule.....	50,000	9,000	59,000	
Nausáí	15,000	2,000	17,000	
Gañdevrí.....	43,500	18,500	65,000	
Besanpúr.....	12,000	.....	12,000	
Mohe	33,000	5,000	41,000	
Anával	3,000	.....	3,000	
Khandol	3,000	.....	3,000	
Pate Mahale	6,000	.....	6,000	
Mhasrat	3,000	.....	3,000	
Rajpiplá (compris- ing 5 districts) .	70,000	.....	70,000	
Total.....	6,47,500	1,15,000	.....	7,62,500
2nd.—In customs from five districts (Panch Maháls to the North of the Tápi)			33,000	
Do. from Viori.....			12,000	
Total.....			.....	45,000

3rd.—In districts to the North of the Revá and South of the Mahí, including customs—

	Rs.	Rs.
Baroda	5,00,000	
Broach	2,25,000	
Koral Bandar.....	40,000	
Vághore	25,000	
Sankhedá	25,000	
Total.....		8,15,000

4th.—In the loyal districts (Rásti Maháls) north of the Mahí, including customs—

The Daskurai parganná or Hayeli of Ahmadábád, exclusive of half the city..	1,00,000	
Half Petlád parganná, including the tháná	3,00,000	
Dholká	2,50,000	
Máthar	50,000	
Nadiád	75,000	
Modhe, including Umarte	75,000	
Total.....		8,50,000
Grand Total.....		24,72,500

We must, for a moment, leave the consideration of the Gáikvád's possessions to briefly exhibit what was the half share of the Peshvá.

1st.—In the Surat Aṭṭhāvisi he obtained Hansot, Occleshvar, Ulpád, Sarbhuran, Supe, Parcholi, Balesár, Bhutvir, Parnará, Vaspe, Bohári, Bardoli, Balsar, and customs worth Svaráj 8,15,500, Moghlí 88,200—Total 9,03,700

2nd.—Between the Revá and Mahí Kánthás: Dabhoi, Deśbora, Jambusar, Sávali, Amod, Báhdádur ... 7,15,000

3rd.—In the Rásti Maháls north of the Mahí; half the Daskurai Ahmadábád, Bonbarsad, Dandhúká, a share in the Cambay customs, Dhamne Mahmodabád, Virangaum Total 8,50,000

Peshvá's Grand Total..... 24,68,700

Seventeen villages worth Svarāj 77,051, with Moghlái 3,867, total 80,918 Rs., were not included in the partition.

Secondly.—In the Anali Maháls there were set aside for the maintenance of the Gáikvād family the following districts, worth 3,00,500 Rs. The reason of this setting aside is not discoverable.

Surat Athhávíst.

Name of Parganná.	Svarāj. Rs.	Moghlái. Rs.	Jamá. Rs.
Viori.....	11,000	.....	11,000
* Tembe	31,000	9,000	40,000
* Kaḍode	29,000	1,000	30,000
Mote.....	9,000	1,000	10,000
Káso.....	3,500	.....	3,500
Ránir	10,000	.....	10,000
Chikli	51,500	15,500	67,000
Vomvár	11,000	.....	11,000
Dhámori	3,000	.....	3,000
Variáv	10,500	8,500	25,000
Total...	1,75,500	35,000	2,10,500

Between the rivers Narmada and Mahi.

Sinor, worth.....	85,000
Tilakvadá, worth	5,000
	90,000
Total.....	3,00,500

We have now passed under review the districts reserved for the Gáikvād in the partition of the already conquered portion of Gujarát. In the text it is stated that the Gáikvād really did manage to get districts which were more valuable than those selected for the Peshvá. The reason stated was that the Gáikvād knew a great deal more about Gujarát than his rival. It may be as well, however, here to remark that many persons do not hold this view. The Maráthás were not quick at discovering the real

value of the districts they looted, but the Gaikvād, far on into the last century, retained the friendship of many of the great hereditary officers of Gujarāt, the pátels of the country, and these advised him in his selection.

We have stated that Dámáji and the Peshvá agreed to divide between themselves the portion of Gujarāt already wrested by the former from the Moghuls and then conjointly to turn the Mussalmáns out of the then unconquered portion. After conquest the land was to be equally divided between them.

But first we must premise that the Gaikvād's share of the zortalabi maháls or districts held by force of arms was as follows:—

Half of the city of Surat.

" " of Ahmadábád
Parganna Kapadband

" Baháphel
" Dhárásan
" Ahmadnagar
" Ohhálá
" Vidura
" Kadi
" Kheralu
" Vijápur
" Rájanpúr
" Sámajpur

} belonging to the Bábis.

We are aware that the arrangement about the division of the Bábí Maháls was subsequently modified. On the surrender of Ahmadábád the Bábis were solemnly confirmed in their possessions. Nevertheless Dámáji was soon at war with them, and after the great disaster of the Maráthás at Pánipit, the Mussalmans and, among others, the Bábis endeavoured to eject the Maráthás from Gujarát. Eventually this led to the expulsion from nine Mahals of the Bábí lords, Sámi Rádhanpúr alone being left them. According to one statement, the nine districts were to be thus divided; to the Gaikvād were to come Kheralu, Vijápur, Rájanpúr and, instead of Sámajpúr, Dhamni and Maujpúr; to the Peshvá were to come Patan, Vadanagar, Visalnagar and Sidhpúr. In H. 1163 a sanad from the Peshvá granted Dámáji all the nine districts as saranjám. The Gaikvād was to pay 1 lách a year for them, and

he did once pay 1 lách and on another occasion 25 thousand Rupees. But the Gaikvád pleaded that the difficulty of conquering and retaining these turbulent districts justified him in refusing to pay any money at all for them. This point he seems to have gained in the end.

It should be noticed with regard to the conquest of the hitherto unacquired districts of Gujarát, that the arrangement was that the armies of the Peshvá and Gaikvád should act conjointly in expelling from them the Mussalmáns. The tribute for any unsubdued country was however to be divided in proportion to the relative number of troops employed by each government (domas), but after complete reduction the territory was to be equally divided.

The unsubdued Maháls were—

Táluká Mohore.

„ Golvád.

Sarkár Sorath including Junágad, together with the Mint and 62 Maháls.

Táluká Ismailnagar or Navánagar.

„ Surai Bájvadá.

„ Kachh Bhúj and Sindhu Ságar, and Nagarthavá.

„ Yatvadá Satalpúr.

„ Shri Dráriká.

„ Dántá.

In addition to the division of territory there was the partition of the rights to send mulúkgirí expeditions into Sorath, Halár, Gohelvád, and Káthiávád. The mulúkgirí collections reserved for the Gaikvád were held to be :

Parganá.	Value.
	Rs.
Morvi and Máliá	43,000
Abárona	5,000
Dharola	17,250
Bádipáno and Jádíá	1,025
Bálambe	1,600
Labibpúr Lalubpúr	1,000
Bhánvad and Bhágol	18,500
Dhánoli and Khadpúr	500
Gavhara	500

Parganá.	Value. Rs.
Golá	650
Rával	750
Mipánibandar	675
Bardá Ránpur	7,500
Amroli	30,000
Bálser	3,000
Kansári	4,300
Dharáli	2,000
Arbik	7,500
Davalatábád	500
Virál and Pattan	20,000
Kodinád Mutá Bandar	12,000
Saljá Mai Bandar	10,000
Mohá	1,000
Vapatále .....	.....
Khatvadá	200
Dongar	200
Dhatarvadá	200
Rán Govind	200
Malikpúr	500
Nagsari	1,000
Gádia Dharpalitáná, Mandvi, Satrajgad	32,500
Kelián	20,000
Chhábad or Dámanagar	5,000
Kothi	2,000
Hastani Chank	4,000
Buikhe	4,400
Junághad (½)	10,000
Dharoni	30,000
Maneli	15,000
Kálá	5,000
Total	2,55,300

Besides these 37 Maháls, the Gáikvád was to hold jointly with the Peshvá (1) Shri Jagat Dvarká Bandar ; (2) The city of Junághad, together with Sagar, Hamsál, Dandfurái, Faujdári, Kotváli, &c. of that kushá ; (3) Dev Bandar.

Appendix V.

The districts which were at first granted to the Gáikvād and subsequently withdrawn by the Peshvá on the score of the first partition having been unfairly made in his favour were:

	Moghlaí.		Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Teladi	66,500	6,000	72,500
Maroli	40,000	2,500	42,500
Gule.....	50,000	9,000	59,000
Besampur.....	12,000	.....	12,000
Mohe	36,000	5,000	41,000
Waghorí (?)	25,000	.....	25,000

These districts are generally described as being worth 2,54,000 Rs., and not, as is made out in this note, 2,52,000 Rs. The discrepancy cannot be explained.

A memo. in the handwriting of H. H. Raghunáth Ráv, signed by Báláji Báji Ráv Peshvá, mentions them as "districts of my share to be taken from the Gáikvād." It may be that the Gáikvād bestowed them on the Dádá Sáheb on condition that all future conquests should be made by the Gáikvād for his own exclusive benefit. When these districts were annexed by the Peshvá, it is probable that the benefit to accrue from the original cession was disallowed. As mentioned in the text, these districts were restored to the sons of Dámáji on condition of their paying 2,54,000 Rs. more of tribute every year.

When the six maháls were returned to the Gáikvād by the Peshvá, the latter retained Sattara-gong, and the three villages of Dabhál, Pasre and Omran, for Darbár Kharch.

Appendix VI.

TRIBUTE AND NAZARA'NA'S DUE AND PAID BY THE
GA'IKVA'D TO THE PESHVA' UP TO THE REIGN
OF GOVIND RÁV.

	Rs.
1. As <i>tribute</i> there had been owed by Dámáji	26,25,000
by Govind Ráv.	23,37,000
by Fate Sing ...	38,87,002
by Mánáji	23,37,000
by Govind Ráv.	54,53,000
Total...	1,80,39,002
2. As <i>indemnity</i> for not doing Military service there had been owed by Sayáji Ráv.	6,75,000
by Fate Sing ...	11,12,500
by Mánáji	13,50,000
by Govind Ráv.	47,50,000
Extra	25,000
Total...	78,62,500
3. As <i>nazaráná</i> for succession to the post of Sená Khás Khel there had been owed by Govind Ráv.	17,50,001
by Fate Sing ...	5,00,000
by Mánáji	33,13,001
by Govind Ráv.	56,38,001
Total...	1,12,01,003
Under no particular head	42,74,429
To Bankers and others	1,50,000
For the Bábí Maháls	1,25,000
Grand total due after deductions	Rs. 4,02,51,934

The following sums were paid in

	Rs.
About A.D. 1770 by Dámáji	36,95,136
" " " "	10,50,000
" " " by Govind Ráv ...	18,00,000
" " 1771 "	25,00,000
" " 1772 "	14,00,000
" " 1773 by Sayaji Ráv	14,35,884
" " 1778 by Fate Sing	6,00,001
" " 1779 " "	10,50,000
" " 1782 " "	4,00,001
" " 1788 " "	28,79,000
" " 1791 by Mánáji.....	5,00,001
" " 1795-8 by Govind Ráv...	78,33,212

Including some other small sums, there had been paid a total of Rs. 2,90,98,644.

The following remissions had been made by the Peshvá :—

	Rs.
To Fate Sing	5,70,500
To Govind Ráv	60,00,000
Total.....	65,70,500

The balance therefore due by Govind Ráv to the Peshvá after the Settlement of A.D. 1798 was Rs. 39,82,789. After this time the Gáikváḍ paid the Peshvá little or nothing; attempts were made to bring about a fresh Settlement, but these proved ineffectual; and finally, the Peshvá, soon after agreeing to take a yearly sum in lieu of all claims, was deposed, when naturally all relations between him and the Gáikváḍ came to an end.

Appendix VII.

CLAIMS OF THE PESHVA UPON THE GAIKVAÐ.

*Schedule of the sums due to the Poona State from the
Gaikvād's Government.*

	Rs.
Balance of an account settled in 1798.....	39,82,789
(<i>Vide</i> Appendix VI.)	Rs.
On account of presents.....	7,79,000
On account of troops (3000) not main- tained.....	6,75,000
	<hr/> 14,54,000
<i>N.B.</i> —These sums have been accumulating for ten years.....	1,45,40,000
Dámáji Gaikvād conquered the country of the Bábi upon condition of assuming half and deliver- ing the other half to the Peshvá; and that a karkoon on part of the Government should settle this: and a memorandum be given in of the divi- sion, and the places were to be given up in the year 1740, and whatsoever was due before this period was to be remitted. This was never carried into effect (<i>vide</i> Appendix IV., p. 369). In the year 1771, the Gaikvād paid one lākh of rupees and in the next agreed to pay 25,000; and, when Fateh Sing Gaikvād should come then it should be executed. This was settled in 1765, but has never been carried into effect; therefore a lākh of Rupees per year is due for 37 years	37,00,000
In the year 1794, the dignity of Senákháskhel Shamsher Báhádúr was granted to Govindrav Gaikvād, besides lands, for which 56,38,001 rupees were given. He died, and the same honours and lands were granted to his son, for which he is to pay	56,38,001
The whole amounting to Rs.....	<hr/> 2,78,60,790

In the year 1796, it was agreed that 3,000 horsemen should be furnished, and upon a requisition 4,000; and that one of the Gáikvád's relations should remain at Court; and that the troops should at all periods be in readiness, and, if not necessary, that a sum of money should be given in lieu.

Ahmadábád is under two authorities, but the same arrangements continue as under Mádhavrāv, and if any deviation should have been admitted, let it be abolished.

You agreed, in the year 1792, to give the Sircár 3 of your best elephants and 5 horses, but it has not been done; therefore fail not to do it now. In the year 1793, you borrowed, through our intervention, the sum of one lákh of rupees, for which we were securities, and agreed to pay the bills drawn upon you, but this has not been done; therefore do so now, and pay the interest.

You were also bound to present a lákh of Rupees' worth of jewels, but this has not been done; do so now, and adhere to the engagements which were concluded in the time of Madhavráv.

You owe Bálaji Naik Bhorá Sávkár a sum of money, for which Government became security. Liquidate this at the rate of one lákh of Rupees per annum, and so treat Malhárrav and his family as to prevent his complaints reaching Government.

In addition to this, engagements were also made in	Rs.
which you admitted the sum of	78,33,212
But only paid	28,13,325

So that there is still a balance of.....	50,19,887
--	-----------

Let this be settled.

You have held the village of Ráni, in the Perganna of Sandi, for these thirteen years, which was worth 2,000 rupees per annum. Pay this money, and deliver up the village to the Kamávisdár	26,000
---	--------

50,45,887

And wherever the villages have been assessed let the money be returned.

Several of the papers having been destroyed or laid aside during the irruption of Holkar, accounts cannot be completely made out; but, as the records are found, other items shall be inserted.

In the year 1796 bills were drawn upon you: let an account be furnished.

Fate Sing, Regent of Baroda, put forward certain claims he had on the Peshva.

1. He had been unjustly deprived of Broach. If the revenues of Broach were computed at between $8\frac{1}{2}$ and 9 lakhs, and the Gaikvād was entitled to two-thirds of this sum, the claim would amount to two crores and a half.

2. He had waged war against Aba Shelukar at the Peshva's request. The cost of the war was 1,65,000 Rs.

There were other lesser claims, of which no mention need be made.

Appendix VIII.

TRIBUTES ACCRUING TO THE BARODA GOVERNMENT.

(The list of tributes from neighbouring States given below is approximately correct.)

No.	Names.	No. of vil- lages.	Ghansdáná.	Jamábándi.	Total Amount.	Remarks.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1	Zilla Vátrak	9	8,679	.....	8,679	Only Rupees have been calculated all through.
2	Parganá Bahiyal	23	7,09*	29,029*	36,120	
3	Zilla Sábar Kánthá	12	19,987*	8,903*	28,899	
4	" Rehevar	4	6,987*	.....	6,987	
5	" Nabáni Márvád	11	39,819*	.....	39,819	
6	" Katosan	18	5,564*	3,983*	9,546	
			79,452	41,911*	1,30,042	
7	Zilla Páhlampúr	26	4,180* }	1,601*	55,784	7 Collected by Political Superintendent.
8	Thasrá Panch Maháls ..	...	50,000 }	.....	8,174	8 Collected by Collector of Kheda.
9	Sanodá and Parántej ..	...	8,174 }	.....	6,554	9 Collected by Collector of Ahmadábád.
			90,187*+66,853	43,515*	2,00,556†	

No.	Names.	No. of vil- lages.	Ghānsdānā.	Jamābandī.	Total Amount.	Remarks.
			Revā Kānthā.			
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1	Tlakvādā Parganā	20	14,896	14,896	* The * represents a sum owing in British cur- rency; all other sums are paid in Bābā Shāhi.
2	Santhedā "	17	5,208	.....	5,208
3	Sāvalī "	22	27,715	.....	27,715
4	Bhadarvā "	1	11,876	.....	11,876
5	Dabhhā "	3	1,503	.....	1,503
6	Sinor "	3	853	853	+ This total includes of course payments in British currency and Bābā Shāhi.
7	Chāndod Thānā	1	1,001	.....	1,001
8	Vadānvātā	1	61	.....	61
9	Rāpīplā	1	65,001	.....	65,001
10	Chotā Udeptr	1	10,500	.....	10,500
11	Umētā	1	5,000	.....	5,000
12	Lunāvādā	1	6,501	.....	6,501
13	Three Taluks of Mahī Kānthā	3	3,427	.....	3,427
14	Zillā Khedā Bālsinor ...	1	4,001	.....	4,001
			1,57,043	1,57,043	

The grand total of
6,43,962 Rs. includes
some British rupees.
In the Administration
Report 1876-77, there-
fore, the total is given
as 6,60,259 Rs.

<i>Pranis.</i>		<i>Kathiawar.</i>	
1	Jhalavād	1	382
2	Kathiawar	21	27,021
3	Machu Kanthā	2	50,390
4	Halar	5	1,38,735
5	Sorath	1	42,210
6	Kherā	1	7,196
7	Gohelwad	25	39,577
8	Und Sūveyā	23	9,534
9	Babriavād	1	2,956
			3,13,001
But from this sum should be deducted—			
1	Collections remitted direct from Amreli ...		20,119
2	Remitted to Māliā		1,518
3	Recovered for expenses .		5,000
			2,86,363
	Net amount, Kathiawar.,		2,86,363

Appendix IX.

Re-distribution of territorial divisions for Revenue purposes. There are four principal divisions or prants, each under a Subhá, under whom are 10 Naib Subhás, to whom are entrusted sub-divisions. There are, finally, 31 táluks or maháls, each presided over by a Tahasildár: 10 of these are so large that they are again sub-divided, and the sub-táluks formed by the sub-division is entrusted to a Naib Tahasildár. (The list gives, first, the old onriously unequal divisions and the number of khálsá and alienated villages (3,706½ in all), together with their joint revenues; secondly, the present re-distribution.)

Old Táluks.	No. of villages in each Táluk.			Revenue.	New Táluks.	No. of vil- lages in each táluk, khálsá and alienated.	Revenue.
	Khálsá	Alienat- ed.	Total.				
<i>Northern Division.</i>				Rs.			Rs.
1. Dehagaum	121	5	126	3,19,753	1. Dehagaum, sub-táluk Atarsumbhá.	172	4,04,200
2. Atarsumbhá ...	44	29	73	67,183	2. Kadi	119	3,64,900
3. Kadi	294	10	304	1,55,385	3. Katol	88	2,72,500
4. Patán	481	57	538	14,02,096	4. Patán, sub-táluk Harija.	275	5,00,917
5. Vadanagar	25	.....	25	1,18,375	5. Vaddoli	130	3,44,200
6. Vinagar	33	2	35	3,64,769	6. Sidhapúr	99	4,00,400
7. Kherálu	76	1	77	1,85,191	7. Visnagar	65	4,75,300

8. Vijápúr	69	5	74	2,45,985	8. Kherálú, sub-tálúk Vadnagar.	110	2,89,700
	1143	109	1232	36,56,847	9. Mesáná	85	2,69,300
					10. Vijápúr	109	3,65,400
						1352	36,56,847
<i>Central Division.</i>							
1. Baroda	173	84	237	12,70,089	1. Baroda	123	5,81,260
2. Dumatá	58	26	84	1,85,616	2. Choranda	88	7,54,190
3. Khángí	72	4	76	3,78,127	3. Jád	112	2,33,178
4. Potlád	99½	7	106½	9,30,232	4. Potlád, sub-tálúk Shisvá	107½	9,58,310
5. Sával	44	4	48	97,052	5. Pádre	60	4,57,415
6. Pádrá	6	1	7	72,318	6. Dabhai	74	3,98,711
7. Dabhai	69	12	81	4,75,136	7. Sinor	51	3,95,372
8. Sinor	35	4	39	2,78,533	8. Sankhedá, sub-tálúk Tilakvadá	401	2,91,455
9. Sankhedá	209	.....	209	1,78,956			
10. Bahadarpúr	34	.....	34	49,002			
11. Vána	15	.....	15	19,890			
12. Tilakvadá	38	.....	38	43,607			
13. Chándod .....	...	1	1	5,577			
14. Korá	18	3	21	96,234			
	873½	143	1016½	40,70,491		1016½	40,70,491

Old Talúks.	No. of villages in each Talúk.		Revenue.	New Talúks.	No. of vil- lages in each talúk, khálsá and alienated.	Rs.
	Khálsá	Alienat- ed.				
Southern Division.						
1. Mároli.....	24	.....	24	1. Nausárá	66	3,05,293
2. Teládi.....	34	3	37	2. Gándeví	29	1,67,691
3. Nausárá	5	.....	5	3. Palsaná	79	2,49,376
4. Gándeví.....	27	2	29	4. Kámrej.....	73	2,24,986
5. Balesár	70	9	79	5. Valúcha, sub-talúk Vákal.	129	3,27,958
6. Timba	69	4	73	6. Mahuvá	77	1,35,526
7. Kámrej	102	2	104	7. Antápúr	157	1,72,207
8. Vasrai				8. Sougá, sub-talúk Vájpúr.	517	1,14,618
9. Varády	1	.....	1			
10. Kathor	24	.....	24			
11. Mahuvá	49	2	51			
12. Válvádá	15	.....	15			
13. Viará	54	3	57			
14. Antápúr.....	96	4	100			
15. Kos Anaval ...	11	.....	11			

Appendix X.

KODINAR.

Extracts from Translation of the Kalambandī of 1813.

Memo. of arrangements regarding Bāhādūr Khān Bābi, Navāb of Sansthan Junāgad, made through Viṭhal Rāv Devānji, and Captain MacMurdo on behalf of the Honourable Company Bāhādūr, dated Magsar Vad 13th, S. 1809.

1st. (The temple of Somnāth ceded to the Gāikvād).—The fort of Prabhas Pattan is a seat of Hindu religion. Therefore in this place, from this time, no sacrilege shall take place. No animal shall be killed. The tax (on Hindu pilgrims) shall be abolished. A mehtā of the (Gāikvād) Sarkār shall remain at Pattan to enquire whether the sanctity of the devasthān (temple) and of the tirth (sacred stream) is preserved.

2nd. (Cession by Junāgad of his share of Kodinār).—Owing to double government in the parganā of Kodinār, viz. the (Gāikvād's) Sarkār Amal and your (Junāgad's) bhāg or share, the rayats would not settle and the merchants could not carry on trade. The port was ruined. For these reasons, your (Junāgad's) share of Kodinār . . . should be made over to the Gāikvād Sarkār. Out of the ghanīm verā paid by hundi on Ahmadābād . . . credit will be given in the Jamābandi deed from year to year continuously for Rupees eight thousand on account of the same parganā of Kodinār.

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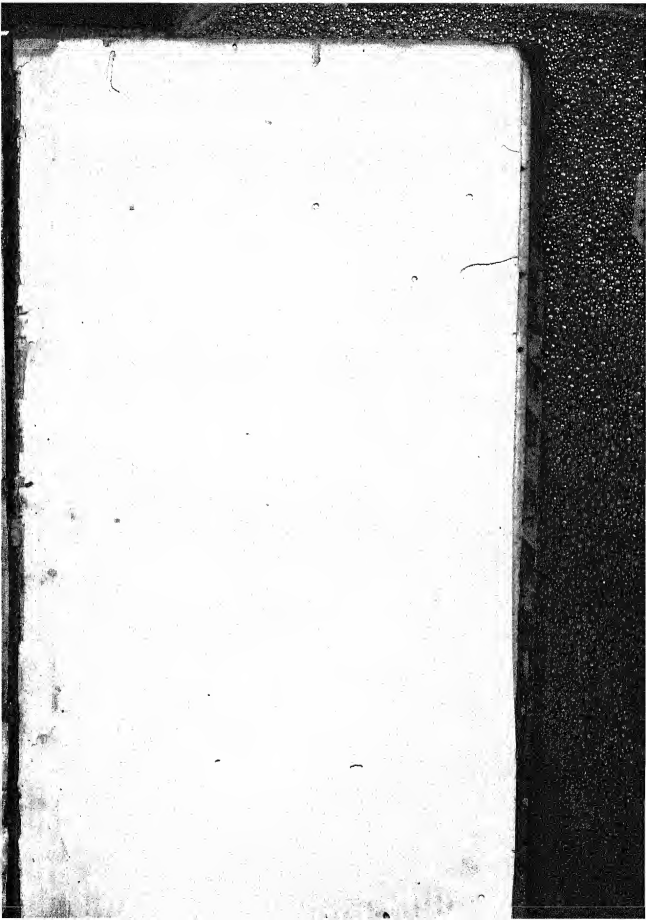
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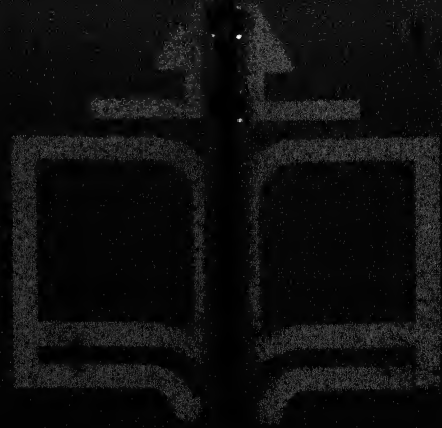
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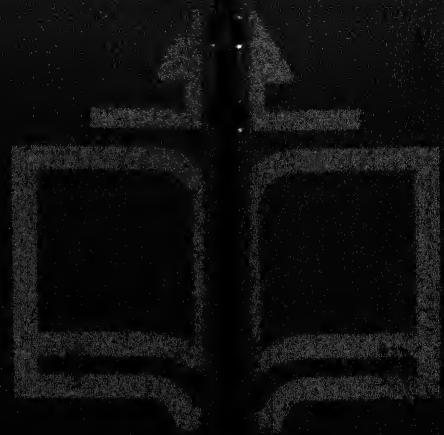
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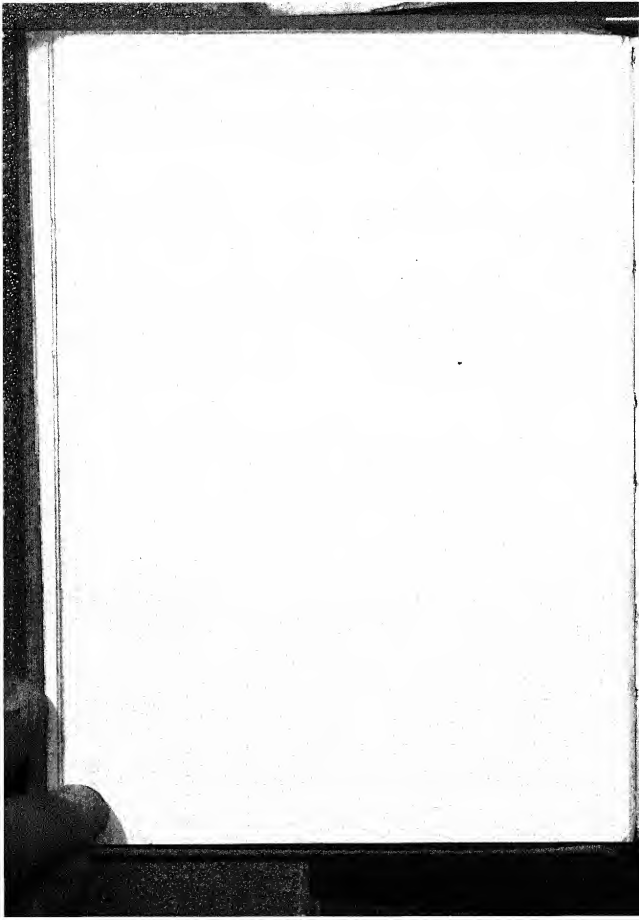
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TO
THE MEMORY OF
SIR HENRY RAWLINSON
PIONEER ASSYRIOLOGIST





PREFACE

The names of mighty Babylon and proud Assyria will never be forgotten, and their memory will never cease among men. So long as modern civilization lasts; so long as Christianity sways men's hearts; and so long as the Bible is read, Babylonia and Assyria, Nineveh and Babylon will be names to conjure with. The excavations begun in the mounds of the Tigris-Euphrates valley not more than a century ago have revealed many things about these ancient peoples. Much more remains to be done. There are still many problems to be solved, many gaps to be filled, and many phenomena to be interpreted.

This little book, by a student and lover of these ancient peoples, can give only a glimpse of one of the most fascinating problems of Semitic culture. The religious and moral ideas in Babylonia and Assyria, not only because of their close and unique relation to the Old Testament, and through it to the New Testament and to Christianity, but also because of themselves, are second to none in human interest.

The author has assumed a certain knowledge of the history of Babylonia and Assyria on the part of the reader, but he has endeavoured to make what he has to say as readable for the layman as possible. In order to assist the reader in forming an historical background for his study, the author has prefixed a

chronological outline; and, to avoid overcrowding the pages with references and footnotes, he has appended a selected bibliography. But be it noted, in order to inspire due confidence in our study, that no assertion has been made, and no conclusion has been drawn, which cannot be thoroughly substantiated by reference to the original texts. So that our study, while aiming at a modern presentation of Babylonian and Assyrian religious and moral ideas, has never once consciously departed from facts deducible from the monuments.

On account of the limitations of our plan, much detail has had to be omitted. No discussion of the astrological theories of Winckler and Jeremias has been offered, nor have the relations between Babylonian and Assyrian religious thought and that of the Old Testament been discussed. These subjects belong to fuller treatments. But this plan, it is hoped, has permitted a clearer and more connected exposition of the ideas of God and Man, of Mediation and the Future, and of Morality, in Babylonia and Assyria, than could have been gained in a more detailed study.

It only remains to be said that the author hopes that this little essay, with all its imperfections, will add to the growing interest in the past, and especially in those great culture lands, which are the cradle of the world's best thought and noblest ideals.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.

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CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN HISTORY

PERIOD OF SUMERIAN SUPREMACY, 3400*-2225 B. C.

3400-2225 B. C. Southern and Northern Babylonia, that is, Sumer and Akkad, were divided among many city-states. This gave rise to various dynasties, the chief of which are: Dynasty of Kish, 2750-2650; Dynasty of Akkad, 2650-2600; Dynasty of Lagash, 2650-2300; Dynasty of Ur, 2450-2300; Dynasty of Nisin, 2300-2115; Dynasty of Larsa, 2335-2069.

3400-2750 " During this period, before the rise of the Dynasties of Kish, Akkad, and Lagash, there were many kings in Kish, Opis, Akkad, Lagash, Umma, Uruk, and Ur, the chief of which were Utug, the first king of Kish, about 3400 B. C.; Mesilim of Kish, shortly after Utug; Lugalshag-engur, in Lagash, a contemporary of Mesilim; and Lugal-zag-gisi, king of Erech and Sumer, about 2800, the first great empire-builder of Babylonia. From about 2950-2800 a line of important kings, beginning with Eannatum, reigned in Lagash.

2750-2650 " Sharru-Gi founded the Dynasty of Kish.

* These early dates are approximate.

- 2650-2600 B. C. During this short period two of the most famous kings of Babylonia ruled, namely, Sargon and his son Naram-Sin. They formed the dynasty of Akkad.
- 2650-2300 " Dynasty of Lagash. This dynasty numbered many great rulers, among them being Ur-Bau and Gudea.
- 2450-2300 " Dynasty of Ur, whose first king was Ur-Engur, who was immediately succeeded by the famous rulers, Dungi, Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin.
- 2300-2115 " Dynasty of Nisin, which ran down into the period contemporaneous with the First Babylonian Dynasty.
- 2335-2069 " Dynasty of Larsa, contemporaneous with the Dynasty of Nisin. Its greatest kings were Warad-Sin, Rim-Sin, Hammurapi, and Samsu-iluna, the last two of whom reigned in Babylon also.

During this period great centres of worship had developed in both north and south, and the cult had assumed a form which changed very little in later times. Due, however, to the different centres of political power, and the consequent lack of national unity, no progress was made in the way of religious centralization.

PERIOD OF BABYLONIAN SUPREMACY, 2225-732 B. C.

2225-1926 B. C. First Babylonian, or Hammurapi, Dynasty.

Babylon's great antagonists were Nisin and Larsa. Nisin was captured in 2115, and Hammurapi defeated Rim-Sin, and subdued Larsa in 2092. Henceforth, there was no question about the supremacy of Babylon. With the defeat of Rim-Sin Babylon became the centre, and its god, Marduk, became head of the pantheon. There arose

a tendency to supplant all the great gods of former times by Marduk. Poems that were written in honour of other gods were now accommodated to Marduk. Imperialism was afoot in both religion and state. More organization in religion was done in this period than at any other time in the history of Babylonia and Assyria. And not only in religion, but also in all spheres of human activity, Hammurapi was the great organizing genius. He built stately temples, overthrew mighty kings, and drew up a Code of Laws, such as the world had never seen before. Nor were the priests idle. They found leisure to make a profound study of the heavenly bodies, and systematized an astrological theory of religion which remained down to the very end of Babylonian and Assyrian religious life, and then it converted itself into a scientific astronomy which was inherited and further developed by the Greeks.

1926-732 B. C. Second to Ninth Babylonian Dynasties. The eight Dynasties of Babylon which succeeded the Hammurapi Dynasty never duplicated what that first golden era had accomplished. Babylon and Babylonia remained strong in the power of its unity and centralization till the period of Assyrian domination.

PERIOD OF ASSYRIAN OVERLORDSHIP, 732-606 B. C.

732-606 B. C. Assyria arose about 2100 B. C., and soon became the rival of Babylonia. But she did not accomplish much in the way of usurping power over Babylonia till 732, when Babylonia, under her weak kings, fell an easy prey to her more virile northern neighbour.

Religious and Moral Ideas

During Assyria's supremacy, the great god of Ashur, namely, Ashur, became supreme in Assyria, though Marduk retained his grandeur in Babylon. Assyria always looked upon Babylonia as the great motherland, and home of culture, and was proud of her association with her. But religious ideas and customs during this period did not escape the militaristic colouring of the warlike country of Assyria.

One of the most important Assyrian kings was Ashurbanipal, 668-625, who built one of the world's great libraries. It is from the ruins of this library that thousands of our finest inscriptions have been excavated. Ashurbanipal caused copies to be made of the most important literature of Sumeria and Babylonia.

NEO-BABYLONIAN PERIOD, 625-538 B. C.

625-538 B. C. Neo-Babylonian Empire. According as Assyria weakened, during the last fifty years of her existence, Babylonia became strong, until, in 625, Nabopolassar proclaimed his independence. He was followed by the great Nebuchadrezzar, and it seemed for a time as if the old glory of Babylon was about to be restored. He, however, was followed by a series of weak kings, until the weakest of them all, from a military point of view, was easily dethroned by the forces of the virile Persian king, Cyrus. Thus ended the Babylonian empire. Persian kings ruled in Babylon till the capture of that city by Alexander in 331 B. C.

I

INTRODUCTION

In the great temple of the world's religious thought, Babylonia and Assyria form one of the most important and interesting pillars. How clear and sharp that temple stands out in the history of the world's culture! There is the great, bright, solemn temple, where men worship the gods. Its doors are open; its windows tempt the sky. There are many things there that have to do with such a temple. The winds come wandering through its high arches. The children roam across its threshold, and play for a few minutes on its shining floor. Banners and draperies bedeck its walls. Poor men and women, with their burdens and distress, come in and say a moment's prayer, and hurry on. Stately processions pass up the nave, making a brief disturbance in its quiet air. Generation after generation comes and goes and is forgotten, each giving its place up to another; while still the temple stands, receiving and dismissing them in turn, and outliving them all. All these are transitory. All these come into the temple and then go out again. But the day comes when

the great temple needs enlargement. The plan which it embodies must be made more perfect. It is to grow to a completer self. And then they bring up to the doors a column of cut stone, hewn in the quarry for this very place, fitted and fit for this place and for no other; and bringing it in with toil, they set it solidly down as part of the growing structure, part of the expanding plan. It blends with all the other stones. It loses while it keeps its individuality. It is useless except there where it is; and yet there, where it is, it has a use which is peculiarly its own, and different from every other stone's. The walls are built around it. It shares the building's changes. The lights of sacred festivals shine on its face. It glows in the morning sunlight, and grows dim and solemn as the dusk gathers through the great expanse. Generations pass before it in their worship. They come and go, and the new generations follow them, and still the pillar stands. The day when it was hewn and set there is forgotten; as children never think when an old patriarch, whom they see standing among them, was born. It is part of the temple where the men so long dead set it so long ago.

Such is the story of the pillar—the Babylonian and Assyrian religion—in the great temple of the world's religious thought. Long, long ago, in times now forgotten, a mountain people moved westward into the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates. They settled there and worshipped their gods, some of whom had come with them, and others of whom had revealed themselves to their worshippers in their

new home. A new pillar in the great universal temple of divine worship was brought in, to go "no more out". Later another wave of migration entered these fertile plains. This came from the western home of the Semites, and brought its gods and religious customs with it, adding beauty and form to the great pillar already established. A great state was set up at Kish, which later became an empire under the first Sargon, taking the name of the Empire of Akkad. Other centres were formed at Ur, Uruk, Lagash, etc. For many years independent dynasties arose here and there, from north to south, till finally, sometime before 2000 B. C., Babylon arose as a great centre and her kings, especially Hammurapi, swayed the whole valley. About the same time, in the north, a seed was sown, which was destined to become a mighty empire, whose unity was unique in the Tigris-Euphrates valley. Its centre was at the city of Ashur, and the country was called Assyria. This country was founded by immigrants from Nina, a part of the city of Lagash, in the south. They brought their goddess Nina, who was later called Ishtar, and she became the consort of the proper god of the land, Ashur. Thus new embellishments were added to the stately pillar of Babylonian and Assyrian religion. But Assyria remained comparatively weak till the time of Tiglath-pileser I, about 1117 B. C. Meanwhile Babylon had fallen before the Hittites, and into the hands of the Kassites who ruled till about 1200 B. C., after which a series of weak kings occupied the throne. Assyria had grown

great, and in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I the once proud and mighty city of Babylon fell into the hands of the Assyrian kings. However, although the dynasties in Babylonia and Assyria were different, and their policies divergent, their religion was the same, and they worshipped the same gods. The pillar in the great temple was the same, only further polished and decorated. And so when the Assyrian kings marched into the city of Babylon they did not destroy it; rather they came as if to pay their respect to Marduk, the great city-god, and to "take his hand", in recognition of his supreme authority in all things Babylonian. Assyrian religion, as well as her general culture, her art and architecture, her science and commerce, her literature and laws, were borrowed from Babylonia. Assyria fell in 606 B. C., when all life and religion centred in Babylon, and the Neo-Babylonian empire inherited what was common and peculiar to both Babylonia and Assyria.

Small and great religions as well as small and great men must all stand before the standard, or test, or source, of religious or individual judgment. In the temple of the world's religion, the pillar representing the religion of Babylonia and Assyria stands. Though the mighty empires of Babylonia and Assyria have long passed on into oblivion, their religious as well as their cultural influence still lives, yea, is immortal. But this influence is judged in the light of a universal religious standard. The pillar is strong or weak, fine or inferior, in accordance with its comparative worth and importance in the whole structure. When the

mighty gods called to Babylonia and Assyria their challenge did not always receive the highest response. Shallow often responded to deep, instead of deep to the call of deep. In spite of their mighty accomplishments; in spite of the vision of god which Babylonia and Assyria saw and gave to the world; in spite of their contributions to human knowledge and science; and in spite of their deep, keen, penetration into the realities of moral law; their failure to relate time to eternity, to translate this world with its sufferings and distress into terms of universal realities, has marred the perfection of their pillar in God's temple. But, excepting this serious blemish, the contribution of Babylonia and Assyria to the bulk of the world's best treasures is one of the grandest which any race can claim.

II

THE IDEA OF GOD IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

The world has always been man's greatest problem. We not only love its landscape with all the power of our bodily senses; but we also store up its associations with us, its joys and its delights, and we love it with all our heart. Nor do we stop there, for we not only respond to that in the world which appeals to our reverence and gratefulness, and so love the world with all our soul; or to that which appeals to our power of working, and so love it with all our strength; but we also respond to that desire, common to all humanity, to solve the great problems which start out from the earth and from the sky to tempt us. Scenes in nature cry out to us to come and admire them, to come and work on them, or to come and study them. And immediately a series of questions arises to the baffled but determined mind. What hangs the stars in their places and swings them on their way? How does the earth build the stately tree out of the petty seed? How does the river feed the fields? What built the mountains, and spread out the plains? These and many other similar ques-

tions, some simpler, some more profound, have always been asked by man. They leap out from nature, and, pressing in past our senses and emotions and practical powers, never rest till they have found out our intelligence. They appeal to the mind, and the mind responds to them—not coldly, as if it had nothing to do but just to find and register their answers, but enthusiastically, loving the nature out of which they spring. And so we love the world in which we live with all our mind.

This has always been the experience of man. In this respect the early Babylonian and Assyrian were no exceptions. But the greatest of all problems that presented itself to early man, including the Babylonians, was the question of motion, which he interpreted as a sign of life. What caused the rivers to flow and the leaves to grow, the wind to blow and the storms to rage? Why did the sun, the moon, and the stars cross and recross the heavens? In short, what is that which seems to be the cause of all the sounds, and signs, and motions, which are continually in evidence? What else but life, the power of causing motion and noise? Man himself was free to move, to make signs, and to utter sounds, and his power to do so consisted in his being alive. It was his life which was the all pervading force in his actions. It was an easy step for the primitive man to make, when he transferred this same power, life, to every object—to all objects—for every object was capable of manifesting power. Thus the early Babylonians endowed every object with a *zi*, life or spirit.

The world was full of spirits. There were river-spirits and stream-spirits, rock-spirits and mountain-spirits, vegetation-spirits and storm-spirits, and many others. The ways of some spirits were understood more thoroughly than those of others. But none of them were understood completely. They were always more or less undefined, and so the various spirits were always more or less mysterious. Those spirits who were considered powerful and friendly were gods, and those who were unfriendly and less powerful were demons and indifferent spirits.

The early Babylonians lived in small groups—families or small clans—separated from one another. Each such group recognized various gods, representing the different living objects in its neighbourhood. But that one living object which impressed itself upon the attention of the group with most intensity became the manifesting medium of that spirit, which became the god of the group. Thus a social group living in the neighbourhood of a large body of water would have a water-god, just as the community at Eridu, on the Persian Gulf, worshipped Ea, a water-god. But it would recognize the existence of many other gods. The number of possible gods was almost limitless. A nomadic group would develop a very large pantheon; and would change its gods from time to time, its chief god being the specific god of the location where it was temporarily settled. In fact, such moving groups were apt to interpret its deity as a goddess, in keeping with the necessarily matriarchal character of its constitution. In moving groups the mother is the permanent

element in family life, a fact which often gave rise to a belief in a goddess as head of a group of gods. This consideration will probably explain the power and influence of Ishtar among the early Semitic Babylonians, who were a nomadic people. It will also account for the fact that Ningirsu, "lady of Girsu", god of Lagash, was originally a goddess. In settled and agricultural groups a male deity was the centre of divine life, with whom was associated a female consort. Thus Ea's consort was Damkina, the "faithful spouse", and Enlil's was Ninlil, "lady of the storm".

Primitive people ask of their gods that they be as familiar as possible, that they have to do with daily life, that they seem to issue from the heart of common things and clothe those things with light which makes them radiant. They dread mystery. They hate to be bidden to lift up their eyes and look far away. They desire their gods to be near, and they find them in all affairs of life, domestic and public, social and political. Consequently, when a group grew and became powerful, the god of the group likewise grew and became powerful. If the group added to itself other groups or absorbed them, the god of the group added to himself the gods of the added groups or absorbed them. In this way groups of gods or pantheons arose.

In Babylonia the earliest centres of such enlarged groups—towns which added to themselves and absorbed all villages and towns in their vicinity—were Eridu, Ur, Uruk, Nippur, Kutha, Opis, Kish, Agade, and Sippar. There were others, such as La-

gash, Babylon, Ashur. The god of such a centre became the chief deity and around him were assembled, among others, the gods and goddesses of the united and absorbed communities. Thus at the dawn of history we find Enlil of Nippur, Ea or Enki of Eridu, and Anu and Ishtar or Nana of Erech worshipped as heads of great groups of peoples. In fact, there is reason to believe that each of these great centres held sway over a large portion of the country at different times; Enlil of Nippur, for instance, receiving homage from gods of distant centres, which were themselves centres of great groups of people. That is, the more powerful a great city or state became, the more extended the sway of its chief god was. This was also true of Ningirsu of Lagash, Nana and Anu of Uruk, Sin of Ur, and Shamash of Larsa, and of Sippar.

It sometimes happened also that the god of an absorbed town became the chief god of the absorbing city. This is true of Ningirsu of Lagash, who was originally lord, or lady, of Girsu, a town which undoubtedly became amalgamated into Lagash. Then around Ningirsu of Lagash gathered a whole pantheon of deities. The chief of these was Bau, his consort, besides deities of irrigation, of weapons, of musical instruments, of flocks and herds, of fishes, and of streams, of household duties, and of cattle. And deities of surrounding towns were granted a place in the central temple, or a quarter in the city, of Lagash. Such were the goddesses Gatumdug, Nina, and Innina. In later times Marduk of Babylon and his

consort Sarpanit grouped around themselves such powerful deities as Ea and Damkina of Eridu, Nabu and Tashmit of Borsippa, Nergal and Allatu of Kutha, Shamash and Ai of Sippar, and Sin and Ningal of Ur. This was due to the extraordinary greatness of Marduk's city, Babylon. Nor did the tendency end there, for the characteristics and achievements of the absorbed and associated gods were very often assumed by the absorbing god. Thus Marduk replaced Enlil in the creation story in the same way that he himself was absorbed by Yahweh, in later times, in the Hebrew references to creation.

In the very earliest times divine manifestations were seen in the commonest phenomena, in the streams and rivers, rocks and mountains, vegetation, and forces of nature. But according as men began to be more interested in the vast cosmic forces, so their attention became centred in such phenomena as the sky, the earth, and the ocean.

The sky was personified as Anu. The Semitic word *anu* is derived from the Sumerian *ana*, which means "heaven". The deity Anu was supposed to be enthroned in the heavens, and as such was the highest of all gods, and king of the gods. Why the centre of the worship of Anu was Uruk is not known. It seems that the inhabitants of that city happened to be the first to give prominence to the sky-god. In Assyrian times the god had a home at Ashur. Anu's worship can be traced back to the very beginning of history in the Tigris-Euphrates valley. He was the supreme dispenser of all events, especially of those

which related to the earth, and his consort was Anatu, who was sometimes regarded as an earth goddess.

Enlil (or Ellil) was the "lord of lands", and the personification of the earth. At a very early time he gained great eminence in Babylonia, for such great gods as Sin of Ur and Ningirsu of Lagash were called his sons. He is thought to have been the chief god of the Sumerian people, and as Nippur may have been the first settlement of the Sumerians in southern Babylonia, an explanation of Nippur as the seat of this god would be thus explained. He is sometimes called the "great mountain", an epithet which would point to his origin among the Sumerians before they migrated west from their original mountain home. This would account for the name of his temple in Nippur, which was E-Kur, "mountain-house", a sanctuary built probably on an artificial mound to represent the original home of the god.

Enlil has been called the older Bel. His consort was Ninlil, called also Belit-matate or Belit-ile, "lady of the lands" and "lady of the god", respectively. Being a mountain-god, he also associated with storms, in the same way that the Hebrew god, Yahweh, was associated with Sinai, and was known as a storm-god.

The deity which personified the great waters of the world was Ea, whose seat was at Eridu on the Persian Gulf, an appropriate place for a water-deity. He is comparable with Osiris of Egypt. Being the water-deity, and water being associated with exorcism, Ea became, at a very early date, the chief deity of exorcism, and, as father of Marduk, he retained that distinc-

tion until the latest times in Babylonia and Assyria. He was consequently the god of wisdom also, and as such the adviser and helper of mankind. His consort was Damkina, a shadowy counter-part, who, like most Babylonian goddesses, never played any important rôle in any form of human and divine relationships.

The most attractive natural phenomena, and the most mysterious, have always been the sun and the moon. They have been deified by all ancient races. In Babylonia the moon was deified primarily by those who lived near the desert, and whose experiences associated them with desert life. Nomadic tribes, who roam the desert, live continually in fear of conflict with other tribes. Their time of greatest activity is during the night when light is not too intense, and when they can elude the pursuit of a possible enemy. But the moon's light on such an occasion is a veritable blessing. It furnishes just enough light to make movement easy, but not enough to make detection probable. Hence the deification of the moon among races who are or were nomads. In Babylonia the moon was worshipped by those who lived in western parts, just on the border of the desert.

To those peoples who lived a settled, agricultural life, who appreciated the part which the sun plays in the growth of the necessities of life, and who enjoyed its warmth, although sometimes dreading its intense heat, the sun has always appeared as a god. The sun is the great mysterious being which sails across the heavens every day, returning each night to the beginning of its course.

The sun was personified as Shamash by the Semites, but as Ud, "light", or Babbar by the Sumerians. His chief centre of worship was at Sippar, though he was also closely identified with Larsa, the latter being the oldest residence of Shamash. His sanctuary was called E-Babbar, "shining house", and his chief characteristics were justice and righteousness, of which he was the source and dispenser.

✓ Besides Shamash, the sun was thought to be manifested in the form of other deities. The sky-god Anu was, in the minds of his worshippers of Uruk, a solar deity, as also were Ninib at Nippur, and later Marduk at Babylon and Ashur at Ashur in Assyria. In short there grew up a regular cycle of solar deities. At Lagash, Ningirsu was a solar deity, as were also Nergal of Kutha and Zamama of Kish, as well as the fire-god Nusku. At a later time priestly attempts were made to differentiate these sun-gods. Ningirsu and Ninib were called sun-gods of the springtime or of the morning, while Nergal was assigned to the midsummer or high noon.

Shamash, the supreme judge and giver of oracles, was not only celebrated as the brother of Ishtar and the consort of Ai, but he was also the father of Kettu, "justice", and Mesharu, "rectitude". With the mystery of Shamash, the god of light, were bound up the cleverness and fairness of justice and righteousness. The sun was full of mystery to the early Babylonians and Assyrians. The nearer they approached him the more mysterious he became. But just as he had the power to penetrate into all corners and

crevices of daily life, so his word had the power of detecting unfair dealings among men. The Babylonians, who had a genius for business, soon developed that sense of right proportion in human relationships, which was the result of deep insight into business principles, and which they associated with that divine being whose character it was to bring everything to the test of the light of day.

On the other hand, the sun was sometimes considered an agent of destruction. His rays could warm and comfort, but they could scorch and burn also. And the seasons of intensest heat were also those of destruction, of lightning and thunderstorms. There came, therefore, to be associated with Shamash and other solar-deities, gods of destructive storms. Thus, with Shamash was associated Adad, who was likewise associated with Anu. But the beneficent character of the solar-deities was that which primarily appealed to the Babylonians and Assyrians.

Just as the sun was the favourite heavenly body among agricultural peoples, so the moon always appealed to the nomad. On the western border of Babylonia, in the neighbourhood of the great desert, the moon was personified as Sin at two great centres, Ur in the south and Harran in the north. At Ur, his temple was called E-Kishshirgal, "house of light", and his own Sumerian name was En-Zu, "lord of knowledge"; among the Semites he was also known as Nannar, "illumination". As lord of knowledge, Sin was the god of oracles, and the well-disposed father of mankind. He was considered a most powerful god

from the beginning of his career, for Shamash was called his son and Ishtar was his daughter. His consort was Ningal, "the great lady", "the queen".

Powerful as Sin was he never gathered around him a cycle of divine beings as did Shamash. He was inclined to keep his own councils and jealously to watch for the allegiance of his own worshippers. He is primarily interesting to modern students because of his chief cities Ur and Harran, both of which are associated with the name of the Hebrew patriarch, Abraham, and especially because of the effect which his cult had upon the Hebrew god, Yahweh, who was associated with Sinai, the mountain of Sin, and whose relationship with the followers of Sin has left its lasting mark not only upon Judaism but upon Christianity as well. Our custom of dividing time into weeks of seven days each is eloquent testimony to the power and influence of the ancient Babylonian god Sin. And not only in this particular matter but in many other ways our modern culture bears not a few marks of Babylonian moon-worship.

Because of Ishtar's identification with the star Venus, the goddess should be discussed here, although she was probably at first a personification of fertility in human, animal, and plant life. As such she became the great mother-goddess. She always maintained an independent existence. Her oldest seat was Uruk, though she was associated with many other places during her career, such as Akkad, Nineveh, Arbela, and Kidmurr. As Nana she is called the daughter of Anu, but she is also known as the daugh-

ter of Sin. This would lead to the conclusion that in her character were absorbed other deities, and this is precisely what happened. In fact, she absorbed all other goddesses in the pantheon, becoming the goddess *par excellence*. In Assyria she became the consort of Ashur.

Having absorbed many other goddesses, Ishtar was possessed of many attributes. She was associated with Gilgamesh, a solar deity, and her lover was Tammuz, a personification of the sun of springtime. As the great mother-goddess, she was associated with the fertility of nature and of man, and became the goddess of love, and of sexual impulse. In her character of love-goddess her fame and worship spread to the land of the Hittites, as well as to Phoenicia, where she was known as Ashtart, to Canaan, where she was called Ash-toreth, and to far-off Greece and Rome, where she was worshipped under the familiar name of the Mater Magna.

In Assyria, especially, she became the patron of battles, as was her Assyrian consort Ashur. And as the war-like Ishtar her symbol was the lion. She was also symbolized by the dove, but this was in her character as goddess of justice and righteousness, the goddess "judging the cause of man with justice and righteousness". In this rôle she was associated with all that is ethically true, being commemorated in hymns and psalms with considerable ethical content. Thus she is addressed by a penitent who says:

"I, thy servant, full of sighs, call upon thee;

The fervent prayer of him who has sinned do thou accept.

If thou lookest upon a man, that man lives.
 O all-powerful mistress of mankind,
 Merciful one, to whom it is good to turn, who hears sighs!"

The most powerful Babylonian god was Marduk, the city-god of Babylon. He was originally a clan-god, but when his people developed Babylon to the supreme place in Babylonia, Marduk, from being a comparatively obscure deity, became the head of the pantheon. Consequently, there arose a tendency to group all gods around him, and to ascribe to him the attributes of such great gods as Enlil, Ea, Shamash, Nergal, Adad, and Sin. His power became so supreme that the ceremony of "taking the hand of Marduk" was essential to a candidate for the throne of Babylonia.

Marduk was a solar deity, and son of Ea of Eridu. His temple in Babylon was E-sagila, "lofty house", and his wife was Sarpanit. The neighbouring god of Borsippa, Nabu, though himself very powerful, became Marduk's son. According as Marduk became more and more powerful and influential, so he usurped the place of other deities and subordinated them and their rights to himself. From Nabu he took over the attribute of "arbiter of destiny"; he became the "healer" of mankind instead of Ea; he assumed the rôle of creator god instead of Enlil; and prayers and hymns were interpolated and glossed in order to give him the greater glory. He became the lord, Bel, *par excellence*, his consort being named Belit, and the great New Year feast became his, making him the

lord and giver of life, the sun, from whom and in whom all things exist.

Nabu was the neighbour of Marduk, the god of Borsippa, and was much more powerful and influential before than after the rise of Babylon. His temple was E-zida, "house of wisdom", and his consort was Tashmit, though Nana and Nisaba were also associated with him in that capacity.

Although a god of vegetation, his chief attribute was that of arbiter of destinies. He was the god of wisdom, of writing, and of prophecy, and it is probable that he was so closely associated with wisdom, as an element in prophecy, that his name penetrated into western Semitic lands and became the title of those men in Israel who were, previous to the time of Samuel, called seers. The Hebrew word for prophet, *nabi*, is most likely to be traced to the name of this god.

Ninib, or as his name is probably now to be read, Ninurasa, was the god of Nippur, the first-born of Enlil, the great physician and god of healing, and the god of the chase. His consort was Gula. He was especially connected with war, as the "mighty hero", and personified the spirit of battle and conquest.

Nergal was the god of Kutha. His temple was E-shitlam, and his consort was Ereshkigal. Originally a vegetation god, he became the benevolent protector of the fields. But he is famous as a god of plague and fever, similar to the pestilence-god Ira, and especially as a war-god. When he married Ereshkigal, queen of the underworld, he became god of the dead and

of their realm. As a result of this, his city, Kutha, became a poetic designation of the great gathering-place of the dead, and his symbol was the fierce lion, greedy for human victims.

Nusku was a god of light, and was usually associated with Enlil of Nippur, though he was also known as son of Sin at Harran. As light or heat god he was the destroyer of all evil, and the promoter of all good. His counterpart was Gibil (or Girru), a personification of fire, and god of the smith-craft and of holy sacrificial fire. His province was to destroy evil by means of purifying fire. Both gods, because of their association with purifying and destroying fire, were ethical in character.

Tammuz holds a unique position among the great Babylonian gods. His Sumerian name is Dumuzi, "real child", but an older name made him Dumuzi-zuab, "real child of the watery deep". As such he was associated with Ea of Eridu, and became identified with all green plant-growth and with spring, the season of beginning of vegetation. In fact, he became the god who revives in spring and dies in summer, like the Egyptian Osiris. With him were associated festivals of mourning and festivals of joy, for his death and resurrection. He was never intimately associated with any one centre, for he became popular and democratic, even, in a sense, an universal god in Babylonia. With him was associated Ishtar the great mother-goddess, who personified fertilization. He was her husband and lover both, and with them was connected his sister Geshtinanna, who plays a

similar part to that taken by Nephthys in Egypt. His cult became most popular and extended to Israel, where it was very prominent at the time of Ezekiel. His worship might have become very powerful and enduring if there had been similar conditions to those in Egypt, which would have served as soil in which the seed could have grown. But the Babylonians were a sterner people than the Egyptians, to whom the joyful note in the character of Tammuz could not make a lasting appeal; and they had never developed a conception of the future which was capable of rendering the Tammuz-resurrection idea influential, necessary, and attractive.

There were many other Babylonian gods, each of whom was connected with some place or person. They were so numerous that two general terms were applied to them, namely, the Igigi, or earth-deities, and the Anunnaki, or heaven-gods. It is felt by some students of Babylonian and Hebrew religion that even the god of Israel, Yahweh, was for some time at least associated with the Babylonian pantheon, his name being found in such combinations as Ya-u-um-ilu of the Hammurapi period and Ya-u-bani of the Kassite period; the former being equivalent in construction and meaning to the name Elijah, "Yahweh is my god"; and the latter to the name Asahiah, "whom Yahweh created".

Assyria inherited the religion of Babylonia, although she breathed into it her national warlike character, and her pantheon coincided with that of Babylonia, except in the case of Ashur and Adad. Ashur

was a solar deity, and patron-god of the city of Ashur, where his cult can be traced to a very primitive time. The antiquity of Ashur's settlement in Ashur is indicated by the fact that when Anu was recognized there with Ashur, he was god of Uruk. In fact, a common etymology connected Ashur with Anu, by deriving the name Ashur from An-shar. From the first, Ashur became head of the Assyrian pantheon, around whom, as around Marduk in Babylon, all the gods were grouped. All rôles of the great Babylonian gods were ascribed to him and a creation myth arose, a trace of which still survives, in which Ashur is the creator. The two great gods Ashur and Marduk were supreme in their own political and religious spheres, and became rivals only when Babylonia gave the Assyrians trouble. Then the statue of Marduk was carried off to Assyria, by Sennacherib, who besieged and destroyed Babylon in 689 B. C. But when Ashurbanipal came to the throne he returned the statue from Nineveh to Babylon and "took the hand of Bel".

The Assyrians were a warlike people, and Ashur their god became primarily a war-god. He was symbolized by a winged-disk, with a man with a bow and arrow within the disk. His solar character is indicated by the disk; and it is interesting to note that his cult was devoid of statues, although there is no evidence that it was more spiritual than that of Babylonian gods. His supreme aloneness in Assyria is due to the great unity of the country, geographically and politically, where he had no rival, and to the fact

that the Assyrians were almost always absorbed in war and conquest, and Ashur was their great leader.

But other deities were recognized and worshipped, chiefly Sin, Shamash, Adad, Marduk, Nabu, Ishtar, Ninib, Nergal, Nusku, as well as the three great gods Anu, Enlil, and Ea.

The other great Assyrian god was Adad or Ramman, a god of storms and rains. He gave rains in time of drought, and was, accordingly a beneficent deity; but he also withheld rain and brought on drought and famine, and was, therefore, a god of destruction also. He had no special place of worship in Assyria, being a foreign god, who came from the west lands, although he shared a sanctuary with Anu at Ashur, called the Anu-Adad temple. He was symbolized by the thunderbolt and by an ox, types of his strength and character as a weather-god; he was in many ways the counterpart of Enlil; and his wife was Shala.

The goddess Ishtar retained her power and popularity in Assyria. She was closely associated with Ashur, as war-goddess, and was differentiated in a threefold way as Ishtar of Nineveh, of Arbela, and of Kidmurr. This threefold differentiation was probably due to the fact that the name Ishtar had become a generic term for goddess, and was consequently ascribed to different deities. This would be all the more probable when we consider the fact that Babylonian and Assyrian goddesses were never more than shadowy counterparts of the gods, with the exception of just the same goddess, whose name

became a designation of all goddesses. That is, whenever a goddess, such as those of Nineveh, Arbela, and Kidmurr, became powerful, they adopted the name Ishtar, as symbol of independence and power.

The other goddesses of Babylonia and Assyria remained from first to last mere reflections of their consorts. Such were, for example, Ninlil, Ningal, Damkina, Shala, Sarpanit, Tashit, Antum, Gula, and Ereshkigal, consorts of Enlil, Sin, Ea, Adad, Marduk, Nabu, Anu, Ninib, and Nergal, respectively.

The Neo-Babylonian empire possessed a national unity and character that was altogether unknown in early Babylonia. As a result, everything centred around the national god Marduk, although there were other gods. It was a period of national consciousness, and the ideal was the greatness of the past. This resulted in a great religious revival, and an attempt to imitate the past in art and culture. It was not unlike the Saite age in Egypt, and resulted in the same political impotency. Because Nabonidus was more interested in archaeology and the past, Babylon fell an easy prey to the more modern and alert Cyrus.

When Jacob said, "If God will keep me in the way that I go and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall Yahweh be my God," he was merely being true to the early Semitic ideal. Each man reserved the right to approach his god on any and all occasions. The gods were to be worshipped and appealed to, nor did any undue fear or dread hold the Babylonians and Assyrians back from the exercise of these

rights. In fact each man had a personal god, and called himself the "son of his god", *dumu dingir-ra-ni*, or *mar ili-su*. Sometimes a god would desert his client, and then demons would come and attack the man. And so the earnest desire of each person was to keep on good terms, especially with his patron-deity, in order to insure his continual protection.

In the early Sumerian period, between about 3200 and 2800 B. C., there was no national religion. The national unit was the city-state, and each city-state had its own chief god, with, sometimes, other divine adherents. There was, however, a tendency to recognize any god who became very powerful; thus, because of the greatness and power of Nippur, its god, Enlil, became very prominent, and was widely recognized and worshipped. Nevertheless, Enlil never became a national god. Each centre of organized government had its own great god—Enki (Ea) at Eridu, Nannar (Sin) at Ur, Anu and Nana (Ishtar) at Uruk, Enlil at Nippur, Nergal at Kutha, and Zamama at Kish.

During the first Akkadian or Semitic period, from about 2800 to 2400 B. C., there arose a tendency to systematize theological thinking. The Sumerians never seemed inclined to systematization. They were content to live in small isolated groups, and to think in an isolated theological way. But the Semites were different. They had the genius of democratic amalgamation. The theological result was an attempt to relate the gods one to another. This took shape in the formulation of divine triads, the first probably

being Anu, Enlil, and Enki (Ea), but with further organization a double triad was created; namely, one centring in Uruk and Nippur, resulting in Anu, Ninib, Enlil (later Ea, Enlil, Ninib), and the second centring in Eridu, resulting in Ea, Nabu, Marduk (later, Ea, Marduk, Nabu). In very ancient times there may have been a duad, such as Anshar and Kishar, god of the upper and god of the lower region, but this is doubtful, and may be later speculation.

With the increase of Sumerian power during the dynasties of Ur and Nisin, from about 2400 to 2100 B. C., theological speculation and organization again became dormant, but with the rise of the First Dynasty of Babylon, about 2100 B. C., a Semitic race of rulers, theological organization again came into its own. Other triads were now constructed, the chief being, Ea, Marduk, Nabu; Ea being the father, Marduk the son, and Nabu the grandson. Under the influence of the same impulse, triads sprang up all over the land. Thus, at Haran, Sin became the head of a divine family, Sin, Ningal, Ishtar, the third member being sometimes Nusku. This triad became popular in the reign of Hammurapi, as Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, due to astrological speculation.

It was during the First Babylonian Dynasty that the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, were closely studied, and there arose a school of priestly astrologers or astronomers. The sun was Shamash, the moon Sin, and the star Venus was Ishtar. This resulted in the triad, Shamash, Sin, and Ishtar. The priests thought they had discovered a close link between the move-

ments going on in the heavens and occurrences on earth. This led to an identification of the chief deities with the heavenly bodies, and to assignment of the seats of all the divine beings to heaven. Besides the identification of Shamash, Sin, and Ishtar, with the sun, moon, and Venus, Marduk was identified with Jupiter, Nergal with Mars, Nabu with Mercury, and Ninib with Saturn. The old triad Anu, Enlil, Enki (Ea) took on new life as Anu, Bel, Ea, the powerful heaven-god, the earth-god, and the water-god, respectively.

✓ The priests proceeded to further elaboration, using popular belief in the dependence of earthly circumstances upon heavenly phenomena, and developed a regular system of astrology, and an elaborate method of divining the future. Even liver divination, which will be described in another place, the oldest form of divination, was brought into connection with this astrological system. Ea and his son Marduk became the great lords of divination and incantation, and all signs in the heavens as well as on the earth were referred to them.

This whole priestly system of astrology is thus comparatively late. There is no evidence at all that Marduk, Nabu, Ninib, and Nergal were originally connected with the stars, nor is there any convincing evidence that the astral idea reached back as far as Sumerian times. Astrology grew gradually but steadily, but became to a large extent official, for there is no proof that the fortunes of individuals were foretold from the study of the stars till Greek times.

Nor did astrology pass from a purely religious discipline to a scientific study till the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods.

The favourite triad of the Kassite period, lasting till 1750 B. C., was Sin, Shamash, Ishtar. The Assyrians did not lay any emphasis upon the formulation of triads, for they were sufficiently confident in their god Ashur. In them, as Semites, we see the power of concentration at its highest, except in later days in Israel. Ashur was not the only god, but he was all about whom it was necessary to worry. Other gods were his assistants. He was the lord and master, the protector, and leader of his people. But the Neo-Babylonians retained their triad which usually took the form of Sin, Shamash, Adad; Sin, Shamash, Ishtar; or Nergal, Adad, Ishtar. Their pantheon, however, remained very large, the chief deities being Marduk, Nabu, Ishtar, Shamash, and Sin.

The ideal at all times has been to make things according to the pattern in the mount. The perfect workman needs a perfect pattern. All things, before they are brought into being, exist in the mind of the gods. The perfect workman translates them into material realities. But the converse has always been true with the seekers after God. The pattern of God has been found in the idealism of man. Gods have ever been created in the image and likeness of men. The gods were thus enlarged human beings, to whom were ascribed human actions, except that there was always a tendency to ascribe the best to them. They were ordinarily considered invisible and more mighty

than mankind, otherwise they were not sharply differentiated in attributes and characteristics from men. They had wives, sons, and daughters, and were born and died just like mortals. In short the gods were thoroughly anthropomorphic, and the product of human imagination.

But the Babylonians and Assyrians ascribed the best they knew to the gods. Thus the gods were holy, righteous, pure, faithful, just, truthful, piteous, and merciful, according to the highest current conceptions of these ideas. Their abodes were places of holiness; they were the authors of law; they directed mankind, and determined its destiny; they loved peace; and they cursed and destroyed the wicked. They were not, however, even in those times, considered absolutely perfect. The doing of wrong and evil was ascribed to them, and they were considered subject to repentance.

The people felt themselves directly dependent upon the gods, and divine worship played an important rôle. Temples were built and offerings were constantly made.

It is probable that the holiness ascribed to the gods may have been partly ritual and partly ceremonial; yet as far as the people understood true moral holiness, so they ascribed it to their gods. The oath, for example, was sacred. It was a guarantee of truth, and as such was taken in the name of the gods.

The gods could always be counted upon to be propitious to their suppliants. They were the hearers of prayers; they gave "waters of freedom"; and bestowed

care upon pious deeds; they were the source of righteousness; and they loved to bless their own.

Above everything else the Babylonians and Assyrians loved to think of their gods as righteous and true. From the time of Sargon to that of Ashurbanipal, kings delighted in the title *shar misharim*, king of righteousness, and took pleasure in ascribing that attribute to all the gods, and especially to Shamash and Adad. They themselves gave directions to "hate evil and love right", and ascribe the same desire to the gods. Of course, the Babylonian and Assyrian words may not always have the same content as our words "righteousness" and "truth", but the words *kittu* and *misharu*, which we render by "righteousness" and "truth", are derived from *kanu*, "to be firm", and *eshem*, "to be straight", respectively; and, judging from what was considered "right" and "true", or *kittu* and *misharu*, there is no reason for doubting that the standard was very high. This we shall show in the chapter on Morals.

The Babylonians and Assyrians were polytheists, or at most henotheists. They believed in the existence of innumerable gods and goddesses, all of whom possessed superhuman power and knowledge, but none of whom were omniscient or omnipotent. Each social group believed its own chief deity to be the greatest. This is what is called henotheism. But monotheism, the belief in one universal god, was never reached by the Babylonians and Assyrians, much less ethical monotheism, the belief in one universal, righteous, and holy god.

There is a composition preserved in a Neo-Babylonian copy of an older text, which reads as follows:

"Ea is the Marduk of canals;
Ninib is the Marduk of strength;
Nergal is the Marduk of war;
Zamama is the Marduk of battle;
Enlil is the Marduk of sovereignty and control;
Nabu is the Marduk of possession;
Sin is the Marduk of illumination of the night;
Shamash is the Marduk of judgments;
Adad is the Marduk of rain;
Tishpak is the Marduk of the host;
Gal is the Marduk of strength;
Shukamunu is the Marduk of the harvest."

This text has been taken as a proof that Marduk was considered by the Babylonians as the only god, all other deities being merely manifestations of him. This might be granted if we knew nothing more about the background of culture and religion out of which this composition arose. But, at the same time that men were reading it, the Babylonians were offering prayers and sacrificing to innumerable deities, all distinct, independent, and often rivals of Marduk. The text does nothing more than reflect the political supremacy of Marduk, and remind us that Marduk was the greatest of all Babylonian gods from the time of Hammurapi on. It may even be said to indicate a tendency toward that which resulted in a conception of true monotheism, but the tendency did not go very far.

✓ There is probably to be found in Assyria a profounder understanding of the idea of monopoly in the god-head than in Babylonia. Ashur did not stand

alone. There were other deities. But Ashur towered so far above the others; his sway was so much more coterminous with his own country, at least; his cult was so much more independent of external and material representations than that of other deities; and he became so much more transcendentalized, at least in the minds of his people, than was the case with other deities; that if monotheism had been at all developed in Babylonia and Assyria, the chances are that it would have occurred in the latter country. But Babylonians and Assyrians, from the first to the last, were far too nationalistic, far too narrow, far too religiously undeveloped, and far too morally limited, to arrive at any adequate idea of the oneness, perfection, omniscience, and omnipotence of God.

Reviewing the idea of God as we have found it among the Babylonians and Assyrians, it may be said that they continually lifted up their eyes unto the hills from whence their help came; they were not content with peering into the valleys, nor even with appealing to their fellow-men, to nature, or to pleasure; but they felt the necessity of seeking help from the highest source of which they were conscious. They wanted help only from the best and noblest. They believed that the spirits which permeated all natural phenomena held in their power the destinies of men; they believed them to be gods, to be endowed with the highest qualities of which they themselves were conscious. They pinned their faith to them and propitiated them in every possible manner. They loved to think and dream about them, about their character

and manner of living. They ascribed the best they knew to them. But just as the world in which these Babylonians and Assyrians lived consisted of various and diverse national groups, so there were various and diverse gods. They had never arrived at an idea of the world, sufficiently unified to lead them to any idea of the unification in the being of the gods. They developed a remarkable material civilization; their art and architecture, their language and literature, are unsurpassed, in many ways, by those of any ancient, and many modern peoples; and their commercial and legal ideas and institutions have become the common heritage of modern civilization. A higher conception of legal justice has never been developed anywhere. The Code of Hammurapi, the innumerable contracts, and the supremely just commercial transactions which have been preserved to us from Babylonian and Assyrian civilization would put many of our modern Western institutions to shame. But, contrary to Renan's famous dictum, they were not monotheists, nor were they physically constructed, geographically placed, mentally equipped, morally endowed, or spiritually inspired to arrive at such a conception. Culturally they were highly talented, commercially and legally they were unsurpassed in the ancient world, but their moral and religious horizon was considerably limited. The gift of monotheism to humanity came from another source—a politically insignificant, but religiously inspired people—but the world's art and architecture, commerce and law are deeply indebted to the genius of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

III

THE IDEA OF MAN IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

When Balak wanted Balaam to curse the Israelites who were approaching the domain of Moab, he tried to cheat himself into thinking that if Balaam did not see the whole of the forces of Israel he would be induced to venture a malediction. And so Balak said to Balaam, "Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see them. Thou shalt see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all; and curse me them from thence." But it was a vain expedient. The blessing came still pouring forth more richly than before. The first thing which strikes one in this story is the narrowness of Balak's vision and its lack of absoluteness. There is an absolute truth about everything, something which is certainly the fact about that thing, entirely independent of what people may think about it. No man on earth may know that fact correctly—but the fact exists. It lies behind all blunders and all partial knowledge, a calm, sure, unfound certainty, like the

great sea beneath the waves, like the quiet sky behind its clouds. The infinite God knows it. It, and the possession of it, makes the eternal difference between perfect and partial knowledge.

The Babylonians and Assyrians were Balaks, not intentionally, but on account of conditions and circumstances over which they had no control. In like manner, all primitive peoples are Balaks. The truth of man and the world in which he lives exists, but primitive man's understanding of it is exceedingly limited. Nevertheless, human nature insists upon knowledge even though it be limited and imperfect. The point where the Babylonians and Assyrians stood gave but a partial view of the world and man. But they rightly insisted upon the view, and upon an expression of it.

Our knowledge of what the Babylonians and Assyrians believed about the universe and the beginnings of the race is derived chiefly from a poem of about a thousand lines, called, in the Babylonian language, *Enuma Elish*, and, by modern students, The Epic of Creation; and partly from the Greek writings of a late Babylonian priest, called Berossus.

According to them we learn that the Babylonians and Assyrians believed that in the beginning there existed a great primitive watery chaos. It consisted of three elements, which were personified as Apsu, Tiamat, and Mummu, namely, father, mother, and son. This chaos gave rise to Anshar and Kishar, heaven and earth, the ancestors of the gods Anu, Enlil, and Ea. Tiamat quarrelled with the gods. Open

warfare ensued. Accordingly, Tiamat created eleven monsters of chaos, headed by Kingu, whom she made her husband, and to whom she entrusted the Tablets of Destiny. Ea and Anu succeeded in disposing of Apsu and Mummu, but were unable to seize Tiamat. Marduk of Babylon then intervenes and offers his services against Tiamat, on the condition that if he is victorious he be made chief of the gods. This was agreed upon, and Marduk entered the list against Tiamat, whom he soon vanquished. According to the later form of the story, Marduk cut the corpse of Tiamat in two, out of which he made heaven and earth. Then follow the several acts of creation, the last of which being the creation of man. The Sumerian version makes Aruru, the earth-goddess, the creator of man. She took the blood of Tiamat and mixed it with earth, the result being man. Another account makes Ishtar the creator, and still another makes the Word of Marduk the creative agent. The Epic of Creation, as we have it, closes with a hymn to Marduk as the creator-god. This account evidently arose after the establishment of the supremacy of Babylon and its god, Marduk. A shorter account, and perhaps the earlier, knows nothing of a battle between Marduk and Tiamat, but represents the world as rising out of the ocean without conflict and in a peaceful manner.

Such were the attempts of the early Babylonians to account for the origin of the world and man. It is imperfect and limited, coming from a point in time and place where only a partial view was possible.

But it was an earnest attempt, and as such must be respected.

The Babylonians and Assyrians believed that there existed an order of beings semi-human and semi-divine. The most important and interesting of these was Gilgamesh, whose exploits have been handed down to us in a poem which we call the Gilgamesh Epic.

Gilgamesh was a semi-divine ruler of Uruk. His people tire of him, and pray to the earth-goddess Aruru, who creates Enkidu (Eabani) as a companion for him, who will entice him to leave the city. Enkidu succeeds in his mission, and he and Gilgamesh go on an adventure to the Cedar Mountain in the East. There Ishtar dwells with her servant Humbaba. Enkidu and Gilgamesh look upon Humbaba as unnecessary to their plans, so they slay him. After being reconciled to the death of her bodyguard, Ishtar falls in love with Gilgamesh, and offers her hand in marriage. But Gilgamesh refuses. This enrages the goddess, and she persuades Anu to create an ox to do battle with Gilgamesh; but Gilgamesh with the aid of Enkidu kills the ox. After this, Enkidu makes the mistake of taunting Ishtar about her love affair with Gilgamesh, which results in his death. Gilgamesh, now left alone, bethinks himself of the hero who was rescued from the flood, Utnapishtim, and goes to seek him. He passes over the lofty mountain Mashu, and crosses the great wild steppes, finally reaching the paradise of the gods, situated on the shore of the sea, where he finds the goddess Sabitu sitting on her throne. He makes himself known to her and relates

to her his desires. She is friendly, and directs her ferryman to row him over the "water of death". Finally, Gilgamesh reaches the abode of Utnapishtim, who tells him all about the Flood. While there, Gilgamesh seeks and discovers the plant of life, but on his way home from Utnapishtim a serpent meets ✓ him and snatches the plant away. Gilgamesh reaches Uruk a saddened man, but succeeds in getting into touch with his former companion Enkidu, from whom he learns about the realm of the dead.

Another king-story may be seen in the Etana Myth. Etana is a primeval hero, and founder of kingship on earth. He desires to set up a king, and applies, on advice of Shamash, to an eagle for help to bring from heaven a medical herb which shall secure safe birth to the expected king. The eagle consents, and Etana is carried to heaven, but on their return both fall to the ground. However, the child is safely born and becomes king. Another story tells about ten primeval kings between the time of Creation and that of the Flood.

Thus the Babylonians and Assyrians, as well as other primitive peoples, saw in kingship a link between gods and men. At first, the gods themselves reigned over the men on earth, but they were succeeded by semi-divine rulers, who, in turn, were succeeded by a line of human kings. The same conception may be seen back of the account of the antediluvian ancestors in the Book of Genesis.

The essential connection between the life of the gods and the life of man is the great truth of the world, for

"the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord". And just as the candle obeys the fire, the docile wax acknowledging the subtle flame as its master, so every faithful follower of the gods gives them a chance to utter themselves. There must therefore be a correspondency of nature between the two, man must be in cordial obedience to the gods. The gods are the fire of the world, its vital principle, a warm, pervading presence everywhere. And of this fire the spirit of man is the candle. That is, man is of a nature which corresponds to the nature of the gods, and just so far as man is obedient to the gods, their life, which is spread throughout the universe, gathers itself into utterance. When the fire of the gods has found the candle of the gods, the candle burns clearly and steadily, guiding and cheering instead of bewildering and frightening.

The Babylonians and Assyrians believed as firmly as did the Hebrews that the blood thereof is the life thereof. And when they represented man as created out of the blood of the gods, they meant that he partook of their life. The first man, who was also a king, was semi-divine: he was made of earth mingled with the blood of the gods. The Sumerian word for soul, *zid*, "rush of the wind", and its Babylonian equivalent *napishtu*, "breath", both refer to the breath as the seat of the self, even as the Hebrews did, using the same word, *nephesh*, as the Babylonians. But neither the Hebrews nor the Babylonians and Assyrians deny the current belief that the life of man was in his blood.

However, man was created mortal. It was believed to be possible to attain immortality, but only for exceptional persons, such as Utnapishtim and his wife. Adapa received from Ea a high degree of wisdom, but not the gift of immortality. He desired to attain to eternal life, and would have done so had he eaten of the food and water of life that were presented to him by Anu. But, on refusing to do so, he lost that great prize. Immortality was a possession of the gods which they guarded with great jealousy.

The Babylonians and Assyrians had no theory of the origin of sin. There is nothing to be found in their literature which corresponds to the Paradise story of the Old Testament or the *yetzer* theory of later Judaism. The interest of these people was practical rather than metaphysical. They recognized and realized the existence of evil, and assumed, without debate, that it came from the world of spirits which surrounded them. They would not accuse their gods of being the origin of sin; but besides gods there were numerous demons, spiritual and unseen beings from whom came sickness and death, and to whom were ascribed all evil. The "evil eye" was the malevolent glance of a demon. In this respect they were the forerunners of Persian thought. Gods could not originate evil, man did not, but the demons did. When Moses descended from the mountain and found that his brother Aaron had made a golden calf, which the people were worshipping, he became very angry with him and took the calf and destroyed it. Aaron, smarting under the severe reprimand of his brother, does his

best to shift the blame from himself to something else—the fire; and he said to Moses that, having taken the gold and having cast it into the fire, “there came out this calf”. The tendency to shift blame and responsibility is a universal one; nor were the Babylonians and Assyrians immune. The blame for the origin of sin was shifted to the shoulders of demons and evil spirits.

These early peoples were conscious, however, of the fact that sin brought misfortune, and they did all in their power by way of sacrifice, incantation, and magic to remove it. The Flood is an instance of misfortune due to sin. The gods behold the sinfulness of mankind, and decide to send a flood. Ea, the lover of man, reveals the decision of the gods to Utnapishtim, and commands him to build a ship for his safety and the safety of his creatures. Utnapishtim obeys just in time, for the flood breaks forth, the gods themselves flee to heaven for protection, and the mother of the gods and Ea pray for a cessation of the tempest. On the seventh day the storm ceases, and the waters abate, and the ship rests on Mount Nasir. After seven days more, Utnapishtim sends forth from the ship a dove, and then a swallow. Both return. Then he sends forth a raven, which does not return. Dry land appears, and Utnapishtim disembarks and sacrifices to the gods; but not to Enlil who brought on the flood, and who wishes utterly to destroy mankind.

The point to be noted in connection with the Flood story is that it was considered the result of sin, for all suffering resulted in sinfulness. This was an

accepted Babylonian and Assyrian dogma. The sin was not necessarily what we call "moral", it was some act or deed which resulted in the displeasure of the gods and oppression by demons. Demons sent sin. They also sent punishment. But man was to resist the sin which was sent by the demons. Failure to resist it resulted in punishment. But man had the necessary power of resistance. He possessed free will and self respect. These he never surrendered. He was humble in the presence of his gods, listening to what they had to say. He was willing to prostrate himself before them, and to signify his readiness to receive what they should tell him by the complete disowning of anything like worth or dignity in himself. But there is another picture with another truth. There comes a time when a man must stand on his feet; not in the attitude of humiliation but in the attitude of self respect; not stripped of all strength, and lying like a dead man waiting for life to be given him, but strong in the intelligent consciousness of privilege, and standing alive, ready to coöperate with the gods who speak to him.

There is reason to believe that many a Babylonian and Assyrian took this attitude in the presence of his gods, and insisted upon his own dignity. But between him and the demons and evil spirits, the source of all sin and evil, and the bearers of punishment and suffering, there was an endless conflict. And the only assurance of final victory was in the help and protection of the gods.

Individuality was not greatly emphasised in Baby-

lonia and Assyria—at any rate, the average individual did not receive much attention at the hands of the scribe. The mass of extant literature deals with the people as a whole or with certain special individuals, such as the king and the prince, the priest and the exorcist. We know that each man had a personal protective deity, and had developed a somewhat keen sense of his relationship to his god, and of his individual right in commercial matters; but what the details of his rights and privileges, his customs and manners, his ambitions and ideas, were, we are unable to reconstruct with certainty.

It is comparatively easy, however, by the aid of legal and contract literature, to gain a fairly complete view of Babylonian and Assyrian every-day life. Accordingly, we find the family to have been the basis of all social life and activity, and begun with the marriage of two persons. Preparatory to the marriage it was customary to draw up a legal contract; and, before the contract could be entered into, the consent of the parents was required. Without this contract marriage was illegal, for “if a man takes a wife and does not execute contracts for her, that wife is no wife”.

Monogamy seemed to have been the ideal, and to a large extent the standard; but man was permitted to have as many wives as he desired. Concubines and slave-wives were very common at all periods. The marriage relationship could be interrupted in various ways, chiefly by divorce. In the earliest periods the right of divorce belonged only to the man,

but as early as the First Babylonian Dynasty the woman also could bring about a divorce.

The father was the head of the family, and at all periods in Babylonian and Assyrian life held all kinds of extraordinary powers over the members of his family, although they were to some extent restricted. He could divorce his wife at will, often by mere repudiation; he could sell his children, boys as well as girls; and he could disinherit any of them at will. But, on the other hand, he was responsible for the support of his wives and children, and if he divorce the former or disinherit the latter he was liable to full or partial support of them. He could adopt children at will, and name them as his heirs in case of dispute with his own children. But he was generally kind and loving, and assumed the responsibility of family life with earnestness and in good faith.

The wife, on the other hand, had certain rights which she was not slow in demanding. She could repudiate a worthless husband and take her dowry back to her father's house, and if she was viciously slandered she could exact very severe penalties.

Children owed definite duties to their parents, and especially in the case of loyalty, for which if they were found wanting they were severely punished. The Babylonians and Assyrians abhorred filial ingratitude. They were very often responsible for the debts of their parents. But they possessed definite rights of their own. They could claim a patrimony which proceeded from gifts made by the father, and

of which they could dispose freely. If in any way they felt themselves unjustly treated, they had the legal right to protest and to make claims. Orphans were often well provided for, there being evidence that they sometimes received a pension equal to the mother's allowance while she was living.

Obligations of superiors to inferiors and of inferiors to superiors were not neglected. The ideal servant was one who was full of respect for his master, and who always did what was becoming. Even the slave had his rights, and it was permissible for him to enter a lawsuit against his master and to assert his rights. On the other hand, as Urukagina's reform shows, there was often the need of a champion of the weak against the strong, and the fact that this ruler was such shows the keen realization of the rights of the inferior as against the exactions of superiors.

Babylonian and Assyrian society consisted of three classes: the *amelu*, which included the king, the chief officers of state, and landed proprietors; the *mushkenu*, which included the bulk of the subject population; and the *ardu* or slave. At the head stood the king as representative of the gods. In the case of Hammurapi we have an example and model of the ideal king. From the Epilogue and Prologue to his Code we are reminded that he is "the perfect King", "a ruler who is like a real father to his people", he was the doer of right, "the king of righteousness", whose "scepter is righteousness", "who made justice prevail and who ruled the race with right", who "made righteousness to shine forth on the land", who "established

law and justice in the land and promoted the welfare of the people", whose ideal was a "peaceful country" and "pure judgment", and who "brought about plenty and abundance". In short, the king was considered perfect and as such was honoured with titles which actually related him to the gods. He was, thus, the son of the god, and sometimes, as in the case of Hammurapi, was supplicated and revered almost like a god. Hammurapi was undoubtedly an exceptional king, who was not only himself a righteous ruler, but who also expressed the wish that his successors would be as righteous and as vigilant in rooting out the wicked and evildoer from the land as he was.

The king was the fountain of all law, and from him radiated the power which set in motion the machinery of the state. He gave directions for the levying of taxes and tribute and through him the state controlled business and commerce.

The king was the champion of the oppressed individual, and was ever active in righting any wrong that may have been done to him. He opposed the oppression of the weak by the strong, and he held his officials to the duty of observing the same standard of righteousness. He set his face against official corruption, against greed in business, and against robbery and theft. To assist him in the administration of the state he created an army of officials whose benefices were inalienable from the official line.

The state likewise took an interest in the individual, and ransomed a man if neither he himself nor the temple could do so. The state was in such matters

an agent of the king, just as the temple was. This interest was a duty to which the individual was fully alive. In fact, the individual in Babylonia and Assyria was as much alive to his personal interests as at any other period of the world's history.

The individual though strictly classified was nevertheless carefully guarded in his rights. Thus if a rich man stole, the deed was punished in the light of his riches, that is, he had to pay more in compensation than if a poor man stole. Yet if a poor man had nothing to pay for such an offence he was to be put to death. In like manner, the fine for a quarrel between two nobles was larger than if it had been between two poor men; but it should also be noticed that if a man of noble class made an assault upon a poor man he was taxed less than if the assault had been upon one of his own class. If a member of the middle class made an assault upon a noble the assault was punished by being publicly beaten.

The individual was treated in every way as thoroughly responsible. He was free to make gifts, with, of course, the consent of those interested; he had the right to protest against injustice; and his slanderer was punished with death. On the other hand, the individual was held responsible for his acts. A royal official who secretly hired a substitute when he was sent on an errand was put to death, and the substitute received the office. The law was the great safeguard and ruled that important statements must be made on oath in the presence of witnesses, and if witnesses could not be produced the man was assumed to be a

liar. Even contracts to guard against falsehood were drawn up.

The Babylonians and Assyrians were primarily a law-abiding people. The will of the gods was expressed in the law of the land, and the king was its guardian. The law was assumed to be righteous, because it was so bound up with the idea of the righteousness of the gods. And so it came about that the court was usually the temple where lawsuits were tried and contracts were made. And yet injustice was sometimes known in the very courts of law, although whenever discovered it was punished. The judge rendered judgment according to royal law, but once the judgment was rendered it could not be changed without incurring severe punishment. There were different grades of judges, but the chief distinction was between civil and temple judges. The former could not receive an affidavit; this was due to the religious character of the oath. Bribery was often attempted but it was always punished. But in case a man was not satisfied with the decision rendered against him he had the right to appeal to the king.

Although the settlement of a dispute may be made out of court, lawsuits before legally constituted judges were the rule. Three witnesses were always necessary, an oath was taken, and rewards and punishments directed. Punishments were often exceedingly severe and out of proportion to the offence. Thus, death was the penalty for: perjury in a capital suit, false accusation of killing, theft of things belonging to the temple or the palace of a king, buy-

ing property of a man without witnesses or contracts, or receiving such property on deposit, failure to pay fines for theft or to make restitution, theft and sale of stolen goods, false accusation of stealing, house-breaking, brigandage, theft, kidnapping a free-born child, negligence if ending in death, allowing a palace slave to escape or sheltering him, detaining an escaped slave, causing a barber to mark a slave wrongfully, procuring a substitute, in the case of a soldier, fraud on the part of a district governor, oppression, failure of a woman who sold wine to capture a criminal, opening a wine house by a devotee, accepting a low tariff by a wine woman, infidelity and incest, remarrying on the part of a woman while her husband was absent, repudiation of her husband by a disreputable woman, inability to pay by a tenant farmer, and falsely accusing a man of laying a spell upon another.

Severe mutilation was legally inflicted. Thus, a boy's tongue was cut out who denied his parents, a son's eye was put out who abandoned his foster parents, a nurse who substituted a child for the one who died while in her care lost her breasts, a son who struck his father lost his hand, and a slave who struck a freeman's son lost his ear.

The *lex talionis* was very common, especially for injuries inflicted unintentionally. It was appealed to chiefly as a preventative. The ordeal by water was practised.

Babylonian and Assyrian justice has a commercial aspect in our judgment, *e. g.*, a patrician had to pay three times as much in case of theft as a plebeian,

but the penalty for injuring a patrician was more than that for injuring a plebeian. Although the fact that a surgeon's fee was greater for a patrician than for a plebeian seems thoroughly modern.

Much care was taken to fix and define ownership of property. Property rights were possessed by all classes of people and by women and children as well as by men. The law controlled buying and selling, renting and letting, redeeming and sharing, but a royal charter could dispense from various obligations. A sharp distinction was made between real and personal property.

Trade and business were placed on a firm legal basis. Sales, purchases, endowments, commissions, loans, inheritance, wills, settlements, gifts, and all kinds of contracts, were legal transactions usually made in the presence of witnesses and often accompanied by an oath. Business companies were legally formed, who commissioned agents and carried on foreign as well as domestic trade. Exact accounts were kept and profits were strictly shared and distributed, and the power of attorney was recognized. Orders were honoured and legal receipts were given. A debt was legally binding, the lender possessing the right of cancellation, except where the debt was due to storm, flood, or drought, when there was an automatic abatement. Goods could be accepted in lieu of money or corn for debt. Rates of sale and storage were often settled by law, and neglect to make satisfaction in business matters was promptly punished.

The bulk of labour in Babylonia and Assyria was

done by slaves, although there were freemen, especially freed slaves, who were labourers. Slaves were acquired by gift or inheritance, by capture or by purchase. They were treated as property, sold, hired, loaned, acquired by inheritance or gift, and listed like other property. The wages of a slave were always paid to his master. A female slave (*a-ma-at*) was acquired in the same way as a male slave and could be sold and exchanged and given or taken in marriage. She could become the wife of a freeman, in which case the children were free, and her marriage was a legal one.

A freeman was responsible for the support of his slave. A slave could be adopted as a son, the ceremony being a religious one with an elaborate ritual. The names of the real parents of a slave are never given. Slaves were often freed, when they assumed all the rights of a freeman. The freeing of a slave was a religious ceremony. One word translated "to free", *u-da-am-mi-ku-si-ma*, means purified; another expression is *pu-zu u-li-il*, "cleanse his forehead". A captive slave if brought home is freed from his slavery. A freed slave was obliged to support his father during his lifetime, but after that the children of the master had no claim upon the former slave; a freed female slave could enter a convent and be dedicated to a god.

If a freed slave repudiated his foster father he was punished as a freeman, but if a slave repudiated his master, he lost an ear. If a slave wife repudiated her husband's mother, the mother could brand her and sell her.

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The penalty imposed upon a slave for injuring a freeman was severe, in one instance his ear being cut off, but still more severe was the penalty imposed upon a man who abducted a slave.

The lot of the slave was hard, but, as we have seen, he had certain well-defined rights, and he could engage in business by agreeing to pay a fair percentage of his profit to his master.

It has always and everywhere been considered greatly to the advantage of a nation to be at peace with its neighbours, and to this end treaties were often made. At the very dawn of Sumerian history there is evidence of a treaty between the chiefs of neighbouring states, and throughout Sumeria's history there are many references to the formation of treaties, one of the most famous being that described on the Stela of the Vultures between Lagash and Umma. The power of treaty making was considered always to belong to the deity. The chiefs made the treaty, but it was always in the name of their gods.

An essential part of the ritual of a treaty was the oath which was taken in the name of the gods and sometimes in that of the king. The oath was a conditional malediction, and violation of a treaty entailed not only a curse, but was also visited with severe punishments.

Wars were of very frequent occurrence in early Sumeria, because of the many small and independent city-states which were so near to one another that their interests were always clashing. An interesting example of almost continuous conflict between two

such states is that of Umma and Lagash. The conqueror was very often cruel and gloried in leaving the bones of the enemy to bleach in the open field.

All wars were religious, for the Sumerians always believed that they fought under the direction and advice of their gods. When one city made war upon another it was because their gods were at feud. The destruction of the enemy was often ascribed to the actual agency of their deity, and plundering was carried out at the god's command. The foe was considered unconsecrated and ritually unclean, and a foreign land was a wicked one. Yet, they could be merciful, if the dead seen on the Stela of the Vultures be not only their own but also those of the enemy.

There is practically nothing known about how the Sumerians treated an individual stranger or foreigner, like the *ger* among the Hebrews. From the foreigner's point of view, exile was never contemplated with any degree of pleasure, but that would be natural.

Between Babylonia and surrounding countries there was a good deal of peaceful intercourse. It was the boast of Kudur-Marduk of Elam that he had never done evil (*mi-im-ma*) to Larsa and to Emutabal but did what pleased Shamash. It was the desire of all Babylon kings to carry on peaceful trade and commerce with foreign peoples, for they desired nothing more than an opportunity to develop their material resources. On the other hand, warlike relations between nations were the normal state of affairs. Even Hammurapi who was a lover of the peaceful arts was often involved in war, especially with his fa-

mous contemporary, Rim-Sin of Ur, and each king appealed to his gods for aid against his opponent.

Levies were made especially upon labourers to carry on foreign wars, and the punishment was death for a person to harbour a slacker. These wars were the source of much plunder, especially of foreigners, who were sold as slaves, and large sums of money were paid by the opposing sides for the redemption of important prisoners.

Resident aliens, however, were usually treated with consideration and could become citizens, being under no disabilities.

In Assyria's warlike literature there is little room for peaceful sentiments, although there is no trace of political disability on the part of foreigners in Assyria, and oaths that bound Assyria to a foreign country in treaty were inviolable. However, Assyria was a great war-like country. She gloried in her armies and conquests. Her great war-gods, Ashur and Ishtar, gave her all victory. All war was religious. It was to enhance the power of the gods, and to extend their boundaries.

The army was recruited from all ranks, especially from serfs and slaves, the military unit being the bowman and his pikeman and shield-bearer. There is abundant evidence to show that the Assyrian kings and their armies were exceedingly cruel in battle. Corpses of enemies were mutilated, their lands were sowed with salt, heads of the slain were exhibited in piles outside the cities, and gathered to be counted by royal officials. Although the kings were sometimes

merciful, they loved to boast of great cruelties and inhumanity. Assyria was militaristic to the core, she exulted in conquest and in all the cruelties which were believed to be capable of striking terror into the hearts of her enemies.

In Babylonia and Assyria men believed in the existence of numerous gods, some more powerful than others, some good and some bad. The great gods were considered, as a rule, favorable to man, but the Igigi were most hostile. The king was the protégé of the gods, being defended by them; and from them, the source of all justice, he derived his authority. The gods not only created man, but they were the source of all stability. Their mouths were pure and could not "be altered". The gods were the real judges, kings and human judges being their representatives. The greatest of all the divine judges was Shamash, the establisher of right and justice, the judge of heaven and earth, and with him was associated Adad.

The gods were very anthropomorphically conceived, and were created as well as human beings; they had their jealousies and other limitations and were subject to decay and death.

Faith in the gods was universal, and men continually appealed to them. There is considerable evidence that the individual Babylonian appealed directly to his god or goddess. Such expressions as "thou from whom cometh the life of all people" are not to be taken as evidence of monotheism, but only as examples of the confidence which individuals had in the particular deity to whom they were for the time

being directing their supplications. Very often in just such expressions, the suppliant shows his consciousness of the existence of other gods, *e. g.*, one prays, "O Sin, as the first-born of Bel, no equal hast thou." Nor is the expression, "who can comprehend the ways of god", to be taken as monotheistic. The most powerful or most popular god was often addressed as if he were "god" without implying thereby the non-existence of other deities.

The gods were not only supplicated, they were also adored and praised as the source of all help, comfort, compassion, and strength.

There was a very close and intimate relation existing between king and gods. In most ancient times, it was believed that the gods really reigned as kings on earth, and so, in later times, they were often addressed as "king". Then the time came when the king was considered the very offspring of the gods, but by the first Babylonian dynasty such a belief was considered fictitious, the king being the servant of the gods. Hammurapi believed that he was called by the gods to enlighten the land and to further the welfare of the people, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, to destroy the wicked and the evil, and to cause justice to prevail in the land. He was the especial protégé of Shamash, who endowed him with justice and to whom he was obedient. He, however, was pious and suppliant to all the great gods, being their faithful servant and worshipper, and to whom he ascribed all his might.

In return for divine favours, the Babylonian and

Assyrian kings assumed a supreme interest in the temple and its worship. Hammurapi brought abundance to Egissirgal and made prosperous the shrines of Malkat. Sometimes the temples were called upon to ransom a man who had been taken captive, and sometimes the king forced loans from the temple, but the latter was considered wrong, and the former was done only because of the great wealth possessed by the temples, in itself a proof of their popularity. The house of the god was the home of justice and the place of prayer, of sacrifice, and of praise. Any violation of the temple's rights was looked upon with displeasure, and theft therefrom was punished with death. This was, however, the punishment for all burglary.

As the gods were the source of all justice, so in their name were all oaths taken and maledictions uttered. The sinner was in constant dread of the gods who hated sin and punished wrong.

It is, however, just the ordinary man of whom we should like to know more, for he has his own peculiar interest. He is significant because of his insignificance. He interests us because he presents the type to which we almost all belong. He ought to be interesting also because he represents so much the largest element in universal human life. The average man is by far the most numerous man. The man who goes beyond the average, the man who falls short of the average, both of them, by their very definition, are exceptions. They are the outskirts and fringes, the capes and promontories of humanity. The great continent

of human life is made up of the average existences, the mass of two-talented capacity and action. The great multitudes of men are neither very rich nor very poor. The real character and strength of a community lies neither in its millionaires nor in its paupers but in the men of middle life, who neither have more money than they know how to spend nor are pressed and embarrassed for the necessities of life. The same is true in the matter of joy and sorrow. The great mass of men during the greater part of their lives are neither exultant and triumphant with delight, nor are they crushed and broken with grief. They do not go shouting their rapture to the skies, and they do not go wailing their misery to the sympathetic winds. They are moderately happy. Or if we consider mental capacity, most men are neither sages nor fools. Or if we think about learning, few men are either scholars or dunces. Or if we consider popularity and fame, those whom the whole world praises and those whom all men despise are both of them exceptional. We can count them easily. The great multitude whom we cannot begin to count, who fill the vast middle-ground of the great picture of humanity, is made up of men who are simply well enough liked by their fellow-men.

And when we come to the profounder and the more personal things, to character and religion, there, too, it is the average man that fills the eye. Where are the heroes? We find them if we look. Where are the rascals? We find them too. Where are the saints? They shine where no true man's eye can

fail to see them. But as to the great host of men, we know how little reason they give us to expect of them either great goodness or great wickedness.

These are the men of Babylonia and Assyria of whom we should like to know more—men whose lot was not the highest, nor whose misfortune was the greatest, but the rank and file of their day. We can imagine them obedient to their over-lords, kind to their families, and reverent to their gods. Into that busy commercial life so characteristic of Babylonia and Assyria we should like to get a peep. Those men who fought their battles with so much vigour, did their business with so much method, and served their gods with so much elaboration, we should like to study. Perhaps the future has more surprises in store for us. Less than a hundred years ago men could not imagine the vast areas of human endeavour upon which the work of the archaeologist and student of culture and religion have thrown light. Little was known of Babylonia and Assyria then, and far less of Sumeria. Now we can trace their military campaigns, read their poems, study their laws, and contemplate their religious visions. With the passage of Mesopotamia into the hands of a responsible and sympathetic government, and with the careful sifting of the sands of the Babylonian and Assyrian deserts, it is not possible to limit the extent of further information, about these ancient peoples, that may be forthcoming.

But in spite of our fragmentary information, we know enough to be able to state that the ideal of the early inhabitants of the Tigris-Euphrates valley was

a very high one. They considered themselves offspring of the gods, endowed with high mental and spiritual capacities, responsible for the welfare of the race, and possessed of the capacity for endless development. Such was man as he laboured and toiled, sowed and reaped, loved and hated, thought and dreamed in the mighty empires that were once Babylonia and Assyria.



IV

THE IDEA OF MEDIATION IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

The consciousness of wrongdoing is, and has always been, a universal experience among men. The belief that wrongdoing is an offense against the gods is its corollary. In fact, wrongdoing is an offense only because it is displeasing to the gods. When David said, "I have sinned against the Lord", or when the Babylonian penitent enumerated all the wrongdoings he could think of in order to locate the cause of his god's displeasure at him, he testified to the truth of this principle that all sin is an offense against god, yea, even is sin just because it is an offense against god. All this assumes that man believes in the existence of the gods, and in his necessary relationship to him. And with that assumed, the first step in the conscious relationship between man and god is the expression of merit or fault on the part of man in respect to god. The next step is the full acknowledgment of the true moral character of the relationship. And then follows the full acknowledgment that merit or fault is pleasing or offensive to god.

With the consciousness of a moral relationship with the gods, and of a necessary dependence upon them, and obligation toward them, man immediately becomes concerned with the problem of mediation, that is, with the question of how he is to be represented in the presence of the gods. Now there are two elements involved in the idea of mediation. They are, gods and man—man conscious of his relationship to and dependence upon the gods, desirous of help; and the gods, presumably able, ready, and willing to help. Between these two elements comes the mediatorial power, for the ancient never trusted himself to appear directly before his god. He believed in the necessity of a mediator.

Among the Babylonians and Assyrians the chief mediator between man and god was the king. This was so because the kings were believed to be the offspring of the gods. In fact, the first earthly king was a veritable god, and represented the great gods upon earth. Such a rôle was probably played by Ea of Eridu, and by the prophet-god Nabu. The persistence of this idea in later times is seen in the insistence of some penitents to appeal to specific gods to intercede for them to other gods. When the gods retired to their heavenly home, they left as their representatives certain semi-divine beings, who were rulers of men, and mediators between men and the gods. Such semi-divine rulers were Gilgamesh of Uruk, two-thirds god and one-third man, who was a great and energetic ruler; Azag-Bau, queen and founder of the city of Kish; Sargon of Agade, whose mother

was a priestess, but whose father was a god; and others, such as Adapa, Etana, and probably Tammuz.

The rule of these semi-divine kings was followed by human dynasties. But all the characteristics, privileges, and obligations of these rulers were transferred to their successors. The fundamental duty of a semi-divine ruler was mediation, and that became the first obligation of his human successor. The Babylonian and Assyrian monarch was primarily a representative of the gods upon earth; he often took the title *dingir*, or *ilu*, god; he was the "son of god"; he was at first the only offerer of gifts, of sacrifices, to the gods; and he was the sole priest and only mediator.

The Babylonians and Assyrians had never developed a belief in angels and demons, as mediators. They believed in good and evil spirits. There were good and evil spirits. There were good spirits, or minor protective deities, called *ilu amelu*, personal god, *ilu biti*, house god, and *ilu ali*, city god, and every house had its *shedu* and *lamassu*, protective spirits. All these acted as protectors against the spirits of evil. Demons were sometimes inferior gods, the spirits of the unburied dead, disembodied ghosts, or semi-divine creatures or goblins. They were often represented in groups of seven. But neither demons nor good spirits ever acted as mediators between gods and men. The evil spirits were the source of all suffering and sickness, and the office of the good spirits was to counteract them. A man may be possessed by a good spirit, when health and happiness and prophetic power results; but he was also subject to possession

by a demon, in which case, sickness and suffering resulted. In fact, sickness was thought of in terms of demoniacal possession, and there was a demon for almost every phase of sickness, just as in modern days there is a germ for every type of disease.

Nor did the tendency in Babylonia to personify the word of the gods, as creative power, result in a mediator. The only line of mediatorial power was through divine beings, semi-divine beings, and the king as "son of god", and as priest and representative of the people. But with the creation of larger groups of people into national life, and the multiplication of kingly duties, the king's office as priest had to be delegated to representatives. This resulted in the establishment of priests and of a priesthood. But still the king remained priest *par excellence*. This statement is borne out by many facts as well as by the title which designated the king, namely *patesi*, or "priest prince". The king was primarily a priest (*patesi* is the Sumerian equivalent of the Semitic word *ishshakku*, from which the word *shangu*, priest, is derived) and representative of the gods to mankind. The representatives of the priest-prince were priests.

The light of the body is the eye, and the eye of the human soul is that which enables man to see god. The one appointed channel through which man and the gods, the two halves of the universe, came into contact was the priesthood. The priesthood, as a power of mediation between man and god, was the eye of the soul. Without the physical eye the world might still be real; but it will be forever unknowable

to the man sitting in his prison of sightlessness, where all the glory cannot reach him. But let the window of his eye be opened and it all comes pouring in; runs through his frame and finds out his intelligence; says to his brain, "Here I am, know me!"; says to his heart, "Here I am, love me!" To such a man the whole bright world has sprung to life; and the window of his prison, the gateway of the entering glory, the light of the body, is the eye.

So with the unseen, invisible, spiritual world. That world, too, must and can testify itself, report itself to the human intelligence through its appropriate channel of communication and mediation, just as the world of visible nature manifests and reports itself through the organ of the eye. Now it is just the existence of that spiritual world, and the possibility of man's being in communication with it, intelligently knowing it, intelligently loving it—that it is about which man's profoundest hopes and fears have always clustered, about which they are clustering to-day, perhaps more anxiously than ever. It is a world which has always been conceivable. All man's mental history bears witness that he can picture to himself a world in which the gods dwell. The bridge, then, which was thought capable of connecting the world of gods with the world of men, the eye through which man could see god, was the mediatorial power of the priesthood.

The development of kingship, the title of the early Babylonian kings, and the regalia of the king, especially his tall tiara or mitre with long, flowing cords, all point to the priestly office and character of the

king. But with the development of community life it was physically impossible for the king to perform all the required priestly rites. He consequently delegated his priestly power, without surrendering any of his own priestly rights, to a class of men, who were given the title of the same meaning and content as that which he himself bore, namely *shangu*, "priest".

With the passage of time this class of men waxed numerous and powerful, and were divided into many orders with many titles. When a strong king sat on the throne, the power and influence of the priesthood were held in check, but weak kings were often the mere puppets of the priests, who gained more and more power, and established more and more priestly precedents. At last they became hereditary, the office descending from father to son; they were highly educated; they usurped political power; and sometimes became very corrupt, politically, insomuch that Urukagina, for example, was forced to bring about a sweeping reform of the priesthood.

At the head of any local priesthood stood the high priest, *shangu rabu*, *shangu dannu*, or *shangu mahhu*. He was called "lord", and was invested by the king himself. In subordination to him were many orders, chief of which were: the *Mashu* or *Mashashu*, whose duties were primarily connected with ritual and ceremonies, a kind of master of ceremonies, and the *Urukallu*, a master of ceremonies for evening services; the *Pashishu*, or anointers, with a minor order called the *Kisallah*; the *Naru*, the musician priest *par excellence*, a kind of canon-precentor, and the *Surru*, a

chief canon-precentor; the *Baru*, or seer, with his assistant, the *Abarakku*; the *Ashipu*, the incantation priest, an order which became very powerful, who held the sacred books of incantation lore, and who derived their wisdom from Ea, the god of wisdom; and their assistant, the *Asu* priest who specialized in water incantations; the *Kalu* priest, who directed lamentations and prepared astrological reports; the *Shailu*, or interpreter of dreams; and the *Sukkallu*, messenger or deacon. Then there was the *Gallabu*, or priestly tonsure cutter; and there were other minor orders. There were also priestesses—as many as twenty orders, two-thirds as many orders as that of the priesthood—and in addition, there were many classes of persons devoted to and engaged in the service of the gods. There were vestal virgins; there were teachers; there were priestly judges; there were astrologers and physicians; and there were priestly scribes. In short, there was no profession of influence and importance which had not at some period or other come under the sway of the priesthood.

Many of these orders demanded that a candidate for the priesthood must be of noble birth, of priestly blood, perfect in bodily growth, and learned in all branches of science. Before ordination, the candidate was clean shaven, as a part of the rite, the king sometimes performing this important act; and was presented with a tiara, the symbol of his priestly office. After ordination, the priest was obliged to wear a distinct dress—a fringed cloak, reaching to the feet, with right arm uncovered—he was to go barefooted,

and to assume the tonsure. A special tithe was instituted for the priesthood, and fees were demanded for all important services.

Man rarely appears before his god empty-handed. He generally desires something, and in order to be sure of the good will of his god he presents a gift. The gift usually took the form of an animal—sometimes, on very serious occasions, a human being—which was killed, and either completely consumed by fire, or roasted and eaten, the gods receiving a share. This was called a sacrifice. Thus the regular accompaniment, or means of mediation, became a sacrifice. And, when the office was delegated to the priesthood, sacrifice was the means of operation.

The earliest idea of a sacrifice was that of communion. Men and their god joined together in a sacred meal, and partook of a sacred animal, in whose veins had run the blood common to gods and man, that is, the life of gods and man. The object of the sacred meal was to strengthen that bond of relationship between man and the gods by partaking of the common life. It was only later that the idea of sacrifice as a gift to the gods arose, and still later the idea of a gift was translated into terms of a temple due.

The chief materials used in sacrifice were: oxen, sheep, domestic-animals, fowl, fish, wild-animals, bread, wine, water, mead, honey, butter, milk, oil, grain, fruit, flour, cane, myrtle, and cedar and cypress wood.

Many elaborate sacrificial services were developed,

and liturgies to correspond with them. One of the most important forms of sacrifice was the sin-offering, which was considered very efficacious. The special gods to whom this offering was made were almost always Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. The ceremony was later connected with the *Shiptu*, or incantation ceremony. The rite was very elaborate, the chief feature being cleansing. An altar was erected in the open air, a lamb was sacrificed, with dates, meal, honey, butter, and wine, and incense was freely used. Manual acts were numerous, including bowings and prostrations. The so-called sacrifice to the dead was the *Kispu*, from the verb *kasapu*, "to leave remains of food for the dead". This rite was a gift-offering to the spirits of the dead, and not a sacrifice in the strict sense of the term. The dead were not worshipped, the purpose being merely to furnish them with food. Associated with this last rite were services of lamentation and mourning for the dead, which were purely ritual exercises without any element of worship.

The great central act of worship was the sacrifice, and the bond, which was renewed, was that life common to man and to the gods. This was no mere symbolism, at least to the earliest Babylonians and Assyrians. There was no doubt in their minds about the reality of the divine relationship between men, animals, and the gods. The same blood ran through the veins of all of them. In the blood was life, and the partaking thereof, and of that in which the blood existed, the flesh, constituted a partaking of the common life, and a strengthening of that common

bond. To the Babylonian and Assyrian mind a sacrifice was a great and solemn reality. Even the meal-sacrifice was interpreted in the same way, but was not considered as worthy. The reason for Yahweh's discrimination between Cain and Abel was that Abel offered an animal sacrifice, while Cain's was a meal-sacrifice. But the sacrifice was the central act of worship, and the normal mode of mediation between gods and men.

Nor were these sacrifices offered in a gloomy silence, as if the people were doing a hard duty which they would not do if they could help it; but with a burst of jubilant joy and with songs of gladness which rang down through the crowded courts of the temple, the host of the Babylonians and Assyrians claimed for themselves anew their place in the obedience of their gods. The act of sacrifice was done amid a chorus of delight.

To us such a sacrifice, beautiful and inspiring as it may be, would be only a symbol, because the things which the childhood of the race values are the symbols or types of the things which the manhood of the race learns to value. The man does not want the boy's sports because he has found in the serious work of life the true field for those emulations and activities which were only practising and trying themselves in the play-ground. The man can do without the boy's perpetual physical activity, because he has come to the pleasures of an active mind which the restlessness of the child's body, in his pleasure in mere movement, anticipated and prophesied. It seems as if

the change from boyhood into a true manhood could not be more justly described than as an advance from dealing with symbols to dealing with realities. And if, then, every progress in life is a change from some new boyhood to some yet riper manhood; if every man is a child to his own possible maturer self; may it not be truly stated that all the spiritual advances of life are advances from some symbol to its reality, and that the abandoned interests and occupations which strew the path which the world has travelled are the symbols which it has cast away because it had grasped the realities for which they stood? Even so, although there are now no more smoking altars or bleeding beasts among civilized men, we can nevertheless look back to the childhood of the race, and see how real those things were to them, which we now look upon as mere symbols of the true. They were the school-masters leading mankind to higher things.

The most naïve conceptions of prayer are possible to polytheists, who can have no doubts about the efficacy of prayer, for no such problems arise as those with which monotheists are troubled. Where there are many gods it is reasonable to suppose that one may be able to outwit or over-rule another. But even so, many Babylonian and Assyrian prayers gave expression to a very elevated and noble religious and ethical point of view. Lugalzaggisi, king of Sumer, about 2800 B. C. prayed thus to his god Enlil: "O Enlil, king of lands, may Anu to his beloved father speak my prayer; to my life may he add life, and cause the lands to dwell in security." Nebuchadrezzar,

king of Babylon, about 585 B. C. addressed his god Marduk with the following beautiful prayer:

"O eternal prince! Lord of all being!
The king whom thou lovest, and
Whose name thou hast declared
To be pleasing to thee—
Do thou lead aright his name,
Guide him in a straight path.
I am thy prince, thy favourite,
The work of thy hand;
Thou hast created me, and
Hast entrusted me
With dominion over all people.
According to thy favour, O Lord,
Which thou dost bestow
Upon all people,
Cause me to love thy exalted lordship,
And create in my heart
The worship of thy divinity.
Grant me whatever is pleasing to thee,
Because thou hast fashioned my life."

In this prayer the ideal has surely been reached. The king prays not that his will be done, but that his god might grant him "whatever is pleasing to thee". Sometimes a prayer takes the form of a penitential psalm rich in beauty and worship, and deep in ethical thought. Thus a suppliant prays to Ishtar:

"I, thy servant, full of sighs, call upon thee.
The humble prayer of him who has sinned do thou accept.
If thou lookest upon a man, that man liveth,
O mighty mistress of mankind,
Merciful one to whom it is good to turn, who accepts sighs."

Perhaps the best of these psalms is an anonymous

prayer to be addressed to any deity. It is full of rich religious sentiment and high moral discernment:

"The anger of the lord, may it be appeased.
The god that I know not, be appeased.
The goddess that I know not, be appeased.
The god, known or unknown, be appeased.
The heart of my god, be appeased.
The heart of my goddess, be appeased.
The anger of the god and of my goddess, be appeased.
The god, who is angry against me, be appeased.
A transgression against a god I knew not, I have committed.
A transgression against a goddess I knew not, I have committed.
A gracious name, may the god I knew not, name.
A gracious name, may the goddess I knew not, name.
A gracious name, may the god known or unknown, name.
The pure food of my god have I unwittingly eaten.
The clear water of my goddess I have unwittingly drunken.
The taboo of my god I have unwittingly eaten.
To an offense against my goddess I have unwittingly walked.
O lord, my transgressions are many, great are my sins,
My god, my transgressions are many, great are my sins,
O goddess, known or unknown, my transgressions are many, great are my sins,
The transgression that I have committed, I know not,
The sin that I have wrought, I know not.
The taboo, that I have eaten, I know not.
The offense, into which I walked, I know not.
The lord, in the wrath of his heart, has regarded me.
The god, in the anger of his heart, has surrounded me.
The goddess, who is angry against me, hath made me like a sick man,
A god, known or unknown, hath oppressed me,
A goddess, known or unknown, has wrought me sorrow.
I sought for help, but none took my hand,

I wept, but none came to my side,
I cried aloud, and there was none that heard me.
I am full of trouble, overpowered, and dare not look up.
To my merciful god I turn, I utter my prayer,
The feet of my goddess I kiss, I touch them,
To the god, known or unknown, I turn, I utter my prayer.
To the goddess, known or unknown, I turn, I utter my prayer.

O lord, turn thy face to me, receive my prayer.

O goddess, turn graciously to me, receive my prayer.

O god, known or unknown, turn thy face to me, receive my prayer.

O goddess, known or unknown, turn graciously to me, receive my prayer.

How long, O my god, let thy heart be appeased.

How long, O my goddess, let thy heart be appeased.

O god, known or unknown, let thy heart's anger return to its place.

O goddess, known or unknown, let thy hostile heart return to its place.

Mankind are foolish, and there is none that knoweth.

So many are they—who knoweth aught?

Whether they do evil or good, no one knoweth.

O lord, cast not away thy servant.

In the waters of mire he lies, seize his hand!

The sins, that I have done, turn to a blessing.

The transgression, which I have committed, may the wind bear away.

My manifold transgressions strip off like a garment.

O my god, my transgressions are seven times seven, forgive my transgressions.

O my goddess, my transgressions are seven times seven, forgive my transgressions.

O god, known or unknown, my transgressions are seven times seven, forgive my transgressions.

O goddess, known or unknown, my transgressions are seven times seven, forgive my transgressions,

Forgive my transgression, for I humble myself before thee.

Thy heart, like a mother's, may it return to its place,
Like a mother that hath borne children, like a father that
hath begotten them, may it turn again to its place."

Prayers were both private and public. In public services prayers became rather liturgical and stereotyped. They were usually written for the occasion, and were chanted or sung by priests and people. The following is a verse of a typical liturgical prayer:

"Oh, heart, repent; oh heart, repose, repose.
Oh, heart of Anu, repent, repent.
Oh, heart of Enlil, repent, repent."

But individual prayers, sometimes liturgical, but more often private, said on all occasions—for the Babylonians and Assyrians were a very pious people—developed from a primitive form of divine adulation, to a high place of noble religious and ethical expression. Although they are surcharged with petty worldly interests, and gross magical conceptions, they very often show a penetration into ethical distinctions and a deep sense of the goodness, justice, and holiness of the gods that is quite remarkable.

There were also hymns, remarkable for their religious and ethical teaching, although many of them were marred by pure magical formulae. This class of religious composition is very hard to date, though the best hymns are certainly comparatively late. Hymns were addressed to the various gods, usually to one specified deity at a time. The great gods, such as Sin, Shamash, Marduk, and Nabu, are the most frequently supplicated deities in this class of liter-

ature. Sometimes hymn, prayer, and incantation are blended into one, for example, a hymn to Ishtar, in which beautiful religious thought passes into magic and incantation:

"I pray unto thee, sovereign of sovereigns, goddess of goddesses,
Ishtar, queen of all men, directress of mankind.
O Irini, O exalted one, mistress of the Igigi,
Thou art mighty, thou art queen, thy name is exalted.
Thou art the light of heaven and earth, O valiant daughter
of Sin,
Directing arms, establishing combat,
Framing all laws, bearing the crown of dominion.
O lady, thy greatness is majestic, exalted above all the
gods.
Star of lamentation, who makest hostility among brethren
at peace,
Making them abandon friendship
For a friend. O lady of victory, making my desire impetuous,
O Gushea, who art covered with battle, who art clothed
with fear,
Thou dost perfect destiny and decision, the law of earth
and heaven.
Sanctuaries, shrines, divine dwellings, and temples worship
thee.
Where is thy name not heard? Where not thy decree?
Where are thy images not made? Where are thy temples
not founded?
Where art thou not great? Where art thou not exalted?
Anu, Bel, and Ea have exalted thee, among the gods have
they increased thy dominion,
Thou judgest the cause of men with justice and right,
Thou regardest the violent and destructive, thou directest
them every morning.
I invoke thee, I, sorrowful, sighing, suffering,

Look upon me, O my lady, and accept my supplication.
Pity me in truth, and hearken unto my prayer.
Speak deliverance unto me, let thy heart be appeased.
How long shall my body lament, full of troubles and disorders?
How long shall my heart be afflicted, full of sorrow and sighing?
How long shall my omens be sad, troubled, and confused?
How long shall my house be troubled, pouring forth complaints?
Put an end to the evil bewitchments of my body, that I may see thy clear light.
How long, O my lady, shall the ravenous demon pursue me?
This shalt thou do . . . a green bough shalt thou sprinkle with pure water; four bricks from the midst of a ruin shalt thou set up;
A lamb shalt thou take; with *carbatu* wood shalt thou fill the censer, and thou shalt set fire (thereto); sweet scented woods, some *upunta* plant and some cypress wood,
Shalt thou keep up; a drink offering shalt thou offer, but thou shalt not bow thyself down. This incantation before the goddess Ishtar
Three times shalt thou recite . . . and thou shalt not look behind thee.
O exalted Ishtar, that givest light unto the four quarters of the world."

But the greatest of all hymns handed down to us from Babylonian and Assyrian religious literature is an address to Shamash:

"The mighty mountains are filled with thy glance,
Thy holiness fills and overpowers all lands,
Thou dost reach the mountains, dost overlook the earth;
At the uttermost points of earth, in the midst of heaven,
thou dost move,

The inhabitants of the whole earth thou dost watch over,

All that Ea, the king, the prince, has created thou dost watch over,

All created beings thou dost shepherd together.

Thou art the shepherd of all above and below,

Thou dost march in order over heaven's course,

To lighten the earth dost thou come daily.

The waters, the sea, the mountains, the earth, the heaven,

How orderly dost thou come daily,

Among all the Igigi there is not that giveth rest, but thee;

Among all the gods of the Universe, there is none that exceeds thee.

At thy rising all the gods of the lands assemble together.

Who plans evil—his horn thou dost destroy,

Whoever in fixing boundaries annuls rights.

The unjust judge thou restrainest with force.

Whoever accepts a bribe, who does not judge justly—on him thou imposest sin.

But he who does not accept a bribe, who has a care for the oppressed,

To him Shamash is gracious, his life he prolongs.

The judge who renders a just decision

Shall end in a palace, the place of princes shall be his dwelling.

The seed of those who act unjustly shall not flourish.

What their mouth declares in thy presence

Thou shalt burn it up, what they purpose wilt thou annul.

Thou knowest their transgressions; the declaration of the wicked thou dost cast aside.

Every one wherever he may be is in thy care.

Thou directest their judgments, the imprisoned dost thou liberate.

Thou hearest, O Shamash, petition, prayer, and appeal,

Humility, prostration, petitioning, and reverence.

With loud voice the unfortunate one cries to thee.

The weak, the exhausted, the oppressed, the lowly,

Mother, wife, maid appeal to thee.

He who is removed from his family, he that dwelleth far from his city."

There are other beautiful hymns extant which show the extent to which the sense of the reality of the gods had penetrated into the thoughts of the people. They do credit to Babylonian and Assyrian piety, and, though they are very sadly outnumbered by magical compositions, they are sufficient evidence of the vitality of religious and moral thinking among these ancient people.

The most popular Babylonian and Assyrian feast was that of the New Year. It was called the Zagmug, and was celebrated, at first, on the first day of Nisan, at the end of the spring equinox in honour of Tam-muz. Later it was connected with the worship of Marduk, and was celebrated with great pomp. There was a great procession, during which the image of Marduk was borne in a ship-car, accompanied by images of other gods. It then extended from the first to the tenth of Nisan, and on the eighth, Marduk proceeded out of E-Sagilla to celebrate his marriage with Sarpanit. During the great festival there was a solemn conclave of all the gods, in the presence of Marduk to determine the destinies of the New Year. Religious ceremonies, of course, held the chief place, in which hymns were sung, incantations were chanted, and prayers were offered.

Another great festival was the Shapattum or Shabatum—a feast of the full-moon, celebrated on the fifteenth day of each month. It was a day of pacification. It is to be differentiated from a festival which took place on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth, and nineteenth of each month. This

latter was called by the Babylonians the Uhulgallum, and the days on which it was celebrated were evil days, or times of taboo. It has been confused with the Shapattum, because of the fact that it was connected with the phases of the moon, and was, therefore, a moon-festival; and, secondly, because the Hebrew word Sabbath has been connected with the same days of the month—even with the nineteenth day, since that is seven weeks of days from the first day of the preceding month—and is itself probably related in etymology with the Babylonian Shapattum. There were many other feast days, such as: the feast of Tammuz, at the summer solstice, in the month of Tammuz; the Ishtar feast, in the month of Ab, a counterpart of the Tammuz feast; the feast of Nubattu, on the third, seventh, and sixteenth of each month, celebrating the marriage of Marduk and Sarpanit; the Abab feast of Nabu, on the fourth, eighth, and seventeenth of each month; the feast of Sin and Shamash, on the twentieth; that of Shamash and Ramman on the twenty-third; of Enegal and Ninegal on the twenty-fourth; of Gur on the twenty-seventh; the Bubbulu feast of Nergal on the twenty-eighth; a special feast of Shamash on the seventh of Nisan, and on the fourth of Iyyar, the festival of the marriage of Nabu and Tashmit; the Akitu moon-feast, on the seventeenth of Sivan; and another Shamash feast, on the fifteenth of Adar. In short, festival days were as numerous as they used to be in imperial Russia, spring and harvest festivals being the most numerous and popular. They

are evidence of the deep religious character of the people, and of their sense of dependence upon the gods, for the feasts were all religious.

The temples were the holiest spots of all the earth to the Babylonians and Assyrians. They were the home and abode of the presence of the gods. By rite and symbol, by decoration and image, the sign was given everywhere in them that the gods were there. The architecture and decoration, the mysterious lights and shadows of the holy of holies, were not what made its awfulness. It was that the gods were there. There they shone in all their glory. There they declared their will. There they forgave sins. There they bestowed their blessings. There they gave their commandments. The gods were known there as they were known nowhere else; and it was that supremely manifested presence of the gods there, which made the temples, as no other places on earth could be, sanctuaries and homes of the mighty gods. And these sanctuaries were to be found in all parts of the land.

In the very earliest times a mere stone or altar, or image, could constitute a temple, or even a room in a tent. But as time passed, a special room or tent or hut was set apart for the worship of the gods, in which was set up an image of the special god worshipped. The spot where the image was set up was the "holy of holies", to which only kings and priests had access. Connected with the "holy of holies", in later times, was a long hall or court for worshippers, and a second court where business transactions were

carried on. Grouped around these two courts were schools, archive rooms, and priest's apartments. The most conspicuous part of a Babylonian and Assyrian temple of later times was a large brick tower, consisting of from two to seven super-imposed stages, about one hundred and fifty feet high. This tower was called a *zikkurat*, and had a shrine at the top, and a winding ascent leading from bottom to top.

Temples were numerous. Every city-god had his chief sanctuary, at his special seat of worship. Sometimes there were as many as thirteen temples in the same city, as at Lagash, but all stood within the sacred area of the city-god. The temple was the center of commercial, social, and intellectual life. There the gods were worshipped, the law was dispensed, and goods were bought and sold.

The impression made by these great temples was lasting upon foreigners as well as upon the natives. The particular type of temple which we speak of as Babylonian was Sumerian in origin and arose among a mountain-people. The *zikkurat* represented the mountain where the god's shrine was located, and the shrine at its top retained the memory of the mountain shrines of the early Sumerian people. In this connection it is interesting to note that the temple at Nippur, a Sumerian settlement, was called E-kur, "mountain house". The remembrance of the Babylonian *zikkurats* reflected itself in the Hebrew story of the Tower of Babel. Nor did it stop there, for it inspired the Mohammedan minaret, and Christian campanile and tower.

What we have been so far thinking of in connection with the idea of mediation in Babylonian and Assyrian religious thought is the official religion, the religion of the kings and priests and rulers. But while the masses of the people were related to the official religion in the closest possible way, yet there were many and various forms of religious expression, which were very popular at all times, and which held a tight grip upon the people. For instance, magic, though finding a place in the official cult, had endeared itself to the masses of the people in their earnest and determined effort to control the demons and to influence the gods. It is manifestly hard to know where religion ends and magic begins, but it may be stated, as a working hypothesis, that magic is an attempt to control the gods, while religion appeals to them. Consequently, magic is to be found wherever there is a firm belief in the existence of minor deities or demons, for men rarely presume to control the great gods, while their only dealing with demons is to try to overpower them and to use them. Babylonian and Assyrian magic consisted in attempts to control and use unseen demoniac powers, rarely to coerce the great gods. Their conception of sin, as a state of bodily disorder, arising from demoniac possession, led them to be deeply concerned with any power that could control the source of sin.

Various were the rites in seeking to control the cause of sin and sickness. In studying these rites we must not mistake the reality for the symbol. A rite is of value either as a symbol of something or as

a means of something. Laughter is the symbol of joy, but as we laugh our laughter reacts upon the joy and heightens it. A rite is a symbol of some religious belief, and as we practise it the religious belief becomes more and more intensified. The rites practised in freeing from demoniac possessions were useful only as they symbolized the desired relief from unwholesome and sinful conditions. They were worthless in themselves, and merely temporary institutions. No doubt many, perhaps most, Babylonians and Assyrians failed to see beyond the symbol, but we can trust the genius of any religion to be able to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials. The essential was to be free from sickness and sin, the transitory symbol was the rite performed in attaining that end.

The rite of exorcism was performed in order to deliver from the power of demons. It was a symbolic ritual, in which fire and water played a prominent part. Images of the demons, whose expulsion was sought, were made of clay, or pitch, or wax, and were cast into fire to be destroyed. Or, in the case of the water ritual, the person to be delivered was sprinkled with pure water mingled with aromatic woods, which resulted in the desired deliverance. Usually the two acts, the use of fire and water, were combined. For just as the sun rose from out the primeval watery abyss, so the two elements of fire and water were effective, when used in connection with the power of water and light deities, such as Ea and Marduk, who were the patrons of exorcism.

par excellence, Ea the water-god, and Marduk the solar-deity. The ceremony was called the *ashapu*, and was usually held on the bank of a river. Many other minor points of ritual were added to the rite from time to time, such as the use of amulets, the chanting of magic formulae, symbolic gestures, and burning of different objects.

Exorcism was used not only in case of individual sin and suffering, but also whenever a temple was to be erected or the statue of a god to be dedicated. There developed an extensive incantation literature, consisting of magical poems to be used on all kinds of special occasions. Some of the most important collections of such texts are: the Maqlu ("burning") and the Shurpu ("burning") series, the Labartu (name of a demon) and the Tiu ("headache") texts.

Magic and exorcism are related, both expressing man's relationship to demons. Magic seeks to control them, and exorcism attempts to expell them. They are man's means of defending himself against demons and evil spirits.

But man not only desires to strengthen himself against demoniac influence; he also feels the need of learning the will of the gods. This need expressed itself, among the Babylonians and Assyrians, in very definite religious rites, such as divination and sooth-saying, the most elaborate being the former.

Divination is a desire and attempt to know the future, which can best be accomplished by learning the will of the gods, who hold the destinies in their power. The officer in charge of all acts of divination

was the priest, and the most common ritual of divination was the inspection of the liver of a sacrificial sheep. As we have already learned, gods, men, and animals were all related. Now the seat of life was the blood, and the bloodiest organ is the liver, which was therefore thought to be the specific seat of the soul. When an animal was sacrificed it became identical with the gods, and its liver the mirror of the gods. The sheep was the typical sacrificial animal, its soul or life was located in its liver, and therein was reflected the soul or life of the gods.

It was the business of the divining priest, or *baru*, to inspect the liver, and to make decisions. On the basis of observations as to its shape, size, and other conditions of the different lobes and ducts of the liver, decisions as to the will and intention of the gods were made. The ceremony of "liver inspecting", a phrase which became the regular term for divination, became quite elaborate. The officiating priest was obliged to perform introductory lustrations for himself and for those assisting, with anointings. Special garments had to be worn, and special prayers were offered to Shamash, or Shamash and Adad; Shamash being the god of divination *par excellence*. The sacrificial sheep had to be without blemish.

The oldest form of divination, however, consisted in the pouring of oil upon water or water upon oil, and watching its movements; or the observation of the flight of birds; or the interpretation of dreams. But liver divination can be traced back as early as the first Sargon, about 2650 B. C., and it lasted till

the latest times. It was passed on to the Hittites, who in turn handed it on to the Etruscans, from whom the Romans learned it, with variations, using the heart as well.

Another form of divination consisted in the observation of abnormal phenomena in the life of man, or in that of animals; another in the interpretation of dreams; and still another in the shooting of arrows.

But next in importance to divination by liver observation was what has been called astrology, an observation of the heavenly bodies. Priestly scholars had developed a theory that this world is an exact duplicate or reflexion of the world of the gods. All phenomena and events in this world correspond to heavenly phenomena and events. In heaven the will of the gods is expressed, and if man can read the will of the gods in the heavens he will consequently know what is happening and what will happen in this world. In the heavens the stars play the chief part in the representation of the god's will, and therefore the study of the stars, and of other heavenly bodies, became the divine science. This has been called astrology.

The science cannot be traced much earlier than the First Babylonian Dynasty, although the system was perfected about 2000 B. C. Then the heavenly bodies were associated with the great gods of the Babylonian pantheon. Shamash was the sun, Sin was the moon, Ishtar was Venus, Marduk was Jupiter, Ninib was Saturn, Nabu was Mercury, and Nergal was Mars. The chief of these gods was Sin, "the Lord of Wis-

dom" (En-zu). The *baru*-priests observed eclipses, and all other heavenly phenomena, and interpreted them in terms of divine intention. This means of divination became highly developed. Other stars besides the planets were studied and their peculiarities noted. Constellations were traced along the ecliptic, and the twelve signs of the zodiac were marked. The first stars to be identified by the Babylonians were Jupiter and Venus, the former because of its brilliancy, and the latter because of its occurrence as an evening star one part of the year and as a morning star during the other part. It was left to Greek astrologers to map out the heavens to correspond to the lands, mountains, seas, and rivers of the earth, but the Babylonians had begun the study.

Babylonian astrology had very little to do with the individual. Its interests centred on affairs of state. Individual concerns were served by the simpler forms of divination such as the observation of abnormal animal and human phenomena, or by the observation of phenomena in nature, and by the interpretation of dreams. The decline of astrology set in at the close of the Assyrian period, when it began to pass out of the astrological stage into the stage of astronomy.

There were other means, public as well as private, which were devised in the attempt to come into relationship with the gods. Oracles were granted by the priests, especially after the seventh century; pilgrimages were made to learn the will of certain important deities, as when Ashurbanipal journeyed to Arbela

to consult Ishtar; and individuals claimed the power of prophetic insight into the ways of the gods. But whatever means were adopted the officiating person was a priest. As a representative of the king, at least in early thought, he developed into the standard mediator in all matters that involved the gods and men. The means and modes of his mediation were numerous and varied, but the central idea was that man's happiness and success always depend upon the will of the gods, upon the relationship between gods and men, and upon the success with which mediation was negotiated. This idea is, and has always been, practically universal. It is the heart and core of all religion, and the essence and power of Christianity.

V

THE IDEA OF THE FUTURE IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

Every true life has a goal to which it is always looking forward. A life cannot be really considered as having begun to live until that far-off city in which its destiny awaits it, where its work is to be done, where its problem is to be solved, begins to draw the life towards itself, and the life begins to know and to own the summons. Very strange is this quality of human nature which decrees that unless a man feels a future before him he does not live completely in the present. Mankind has grown so used to it that he does not realize how strange it is. It seems to be necessary. But the lower natures, the beasts, do not seem to have anything like it. And one can easily picture to one's self a human nature which might have developed in such a way that it never should think about the future, but should get all its inspiration out of the present things. But that is not human nature. Human nature must always

look ahead. The thing which it hopes to become is already a power and decides the things it is.

The Babylonians and Assyrians too had a goal to which they were always looking forward. But it was located primarily in this life. For the next world they cared very little. Nevertheless they did have an idea of an immortal life, though it was very limited, and never developed to any considerable extent. Nor did it exercise any influence upon the manners and ways, the ethics and ideals, of this life.

This limitation in Babylonian and Assyrian outlook was due primarily to a trait common to all early Semitic peoples. The Semites were exceedingly slow in developing an adequate conception of individuality. To them everything centred in the community and in its life. Individual demands and desires were rarely considered. Attention was concentrated on the state. This was also true among the Hebrews. Until the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, no real conception of individual consciousness had developed, and consequently no real conception of the future beyond this world. There was thought in plenty about the nation's future, its destiny among the other nations of the world. But there seemed to be no necessity for a consideration of what happened in a world other than this. A nation does not die with the individual; but new individuals are born that compose the nation of the future. Of course, the individual died, and his death was noted, and there was a general idea as to what happened to him. But very little thought was ever concentrated upon the

subject. The same was true of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Only, whereas the Hebrews developed beyond that stage of thought, the Babylonians and Assyrians never did. And the failure to do so, in spite of their other accomplishments, contributed largely to their final decay and downfall.

At death the body and soul separated. The body was committed to the earth—never cremated except in the earliest period—sometimes in a brick vault; more often it was placed upon a slightly raised platform of bricks, provided with a reed-mat over which was a large cover. Ordinarily, however, the body was placed in a baked-clay coffin in capsule form, or in a coffin made by fitting together two deep bowls, or in a huge vase, or in a coffin of bath-tub shape, of flask-shape, or slipper-shape. The place of burial was usually the temple court. The departed soul, *edimmu*, was spoken of as having gone to its fate. It was thought of as a wind or breath, *napishtu*, and was believed to take a lively interest in the body which it left behind.

In order to guarantee rest for the soul, the body had to be cared for by being supplied with food and implements. The soul was thus enabled to continue what was really an earthly existence in the next world. Offerings, *anag*, were made for the repose of the soul. They were either burned or consumed as a family meal, or both, and in later times the custom of pouring a libation, in connection with the meal, was common.

The departed soul continued to live in a conscious

or semi-conscious state, in a life inferior to the present. It was considered a minor deity, *gidim*, and was often propitiated, but was thought to be deprived of all pleasure.

The home of the departed was known by different names, the chief of which was Arallu. Sometimes it was called *Irsit la tari*, "land of no return", but it was also called "the mountain house of the dead", the "vast city", the "prison house", and the "house of Tammuz". The Poem of Ishtar's descent into Arallu furnishes us with the most complete account of what the abode of the future was like. It was a large dark cavern under the surface of the earth, full of dust, where souls passed a miserable existence of inactivity and gloom, and subsisted on dust. The approach to it was in the western region of the earth, where seven gates guarded by sentinels gave entrance.

The ruler of the realm of the dead was the goddess Ereshkigal, also called Allatu. The god Nergal descended into Arallu and married Ereshkigal. Being a god of pestilence and death, identified later with Mars, his cult centre, Kutha, became a designation of Arallu. Ishtar was also associated with Arallu, which she visited in order to restore her lover Tammuz. Nergal and his consort employed demons as their messengers, the chief being Belit-seri and Namtaru.

Ishtar's "descent into Arallu" is probably a poetic version of an old vegetation myth, the disappearance of Ishtar being the death of nature, when all growth on earth ceased. But it throws interesting light upon

the popular conception of Arallu. At every one of the seven gates, Ishtar was compelled to part with an article of clothing until she appeared naked before Ereshkigal, who ordered her servant Namtaru to imprison the goddess. Ea interposed on behalf of Ishtar, whereupon Ereshkigal commands Namtaru to sprinkle Ishtar with "water of life" and to release her. Ishtar departs and receives her clothes as she passes each of the seven gates.

There is also an echo in Babylonian literature of an "Island of the Blest", situated at the confluence of the streams, where Utnapishtim and his wife were led, after the flood, but it seems to have been only for special individuals. There is, however, nothing definitely known about the future of such heroes. Enkidu (or Eabani) also goes to Arallu, but when he appears to his friend Gilgamesh he has no definite information to impart, other than that Etana and Ereshkigal were there.

To the Babylonians and Assyrians, death was an unmitigated evil, with which no ethical considerations were connected. Once a soul departed to Arallu, his fate was unalterable and permanent. There was no belief in transmigration or resurrection. There is only one instance of a soul rising from Arallu, besides the goddess Ishtar, and that was Enkidu; yet he did not gain deliverance, but, like the shade of Samuel, returned again.

Such was the future of the Babylonians and Assyrians. There was no "Kingdom of God" in the future for them. Their best vision was confined to

this world, and that was not very inspiring. The Hebrew dream of a Messianic Kingdom, of a city of God, was unknown to them. When we think of the dreariness in outlook of the Babylonians and Assyrians, of the absence of that power which could have consecrated their nationalism, their patriotism, their wealth, their glory, and their individual sacrifices, it is a real wonder that they ever accomplished anything. They had no dream of an ideal spiritual king and an ideal spiritual nation to realize; they were thrown back upon their native, natural will to live, for their inspiration. And when we contemplate the great things they accomplished, their art and architecture, their military grandeur and their mighty empire, their literature and science, their deep sense of piety and their fine moral distinctions, we are surprised at any limitations to the dream of more favoured nations, who have had all the stimulus and inspiration of a glorious spiritual future, a moral and religious city and kingdom of God.

VI

THE IDEA OF MORALITY IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

Many hundreds of years ago a Hebrew poet wrote, "In thy light we shall see light". The poet saw men all around him running hither and thither seeking light. The poet sympathized with them, for he too thought light the most precious thing in the world. But he saw a great fallacy in the search for light of his time. Men appeared to be questioning this thing and that thing, as if the secret of its being, its power to be understood and comprehended, the light with which it ought to shine, were something it carried in itself. He declared this to be wrong. To him everything is comprehensible and capable of being understood only as it exists within the great enfolding presence of God. To him it is only in their relations to the perfect nature that all other natures can become intelligible. Only within the elements where they belong, only as they are held inside the atmosphere of larger natures to which they bear essential and

sacred relationships, can the finest and truest natures of many things be understood. The beauty of the flower or the majesty of the mountain can only truly be seen in the radiance of the glowing sun.

When we turn to study Babylonian and Assyrian morals, it must be held inside the atmosphere of Babylonian and Assyrian life and customs. We must learn to judge the Babylonians and Assyrians in the light of their own time. Their heredity, environment, and social traditions must limit our decisions. We must not forget that they lived many hundreds of years before the rise of Christianity. It is only in the light of their time that we can hope to cast light upon their moral realities and ideals.

The origin of moral ideas reaches back into prehistoric times. The earliest historic man habitually differentiates between good and bad. His "good" and "bad" doubtless differed from ours, having been probably more confined and narrower. We say that "good" is that which favours human progress, and "evil" that which impedes it. But the Babylonians and Assyrians, because of their known piety, would probably have defined "good" as that which is pleasing to the gods and "evil" as that which incites the anger of the gods. "Good" and "evil" may originally have been purely ritual and ceremonial, but in historic times we shall find that, although ritual right and wrong still prevailed to a certain extent, a positive moral distinction was made. Our own moral distinctions are based upon what we consider to be the will of God and upon what has become customary.

The same is true of Babylonian and Assyrian morals. What their gods willed was right, what they disapproved was wrong; what was customary was right, and what was not customary was wrong.

Of course the gods will what we *think* they will. We think God wills justice, righteousness, purity, etc. The Babylonians and Assyrians thought he willed the same, though their idea of justice, purity, and righteousness may have been different from what ours is. They may have conceived sin, for example, in a more ceremonial way than we, and may have considered it and "sickness" to be equivalent. This we must take into consideration in our evaluation of Babylonian and Assyrian morals.

Every human act is done for some end or purpose. The end is always regarded by the agent in the light of something good. If evil be done, it is done as leading to good, or as bound up with good, or as itself being good for the doer under the circumstances. The standard of moral judgment is that which is considered good or bad, wrong or right. But what is considered good or bad, wrong or right, depends upon people and time. To the Babylonians and Assyrians, human acts were right or wrong, good or bad, not according as they were useful or hurtful, nor yet according as their consequences made for or against the end of social happiness, but according as they were pleasing or displeasing to the gods. The Babylonians and Assyrians aimed at material blessings, prosperity, success in war and in private undertakings; but they also aimed at tranquility of soul; and

most of all their greatest concern was to please the gods.

In examining the subject matter of Babylonian and Assyrian morals, allowance must be made for a wide gap between the ideal and the real. We must be careful not to confuse what were actual practices with what were merely ideals, although the ideals will be valuable as an indication of what the Babylonians and Assyrians knew to be best and of what they tried to attain.

In this gap between the ideal and the real, man is always standing; between their visions and tasks all men are standing always. For every man has visions, glimpses clearer or duller, now bright and beautiful, now clouded and obscure, of what is absolutely and abstractly true; and every man also has pressing on him the warm, clear lives of fellow men. There is the world of ideals, of truths, on one side, and there is the world of reality, of men, upon the other. Between the two stands man; and these two worlds, if man is what he ought to be, meet through his nature.

In attempting to gain an idea of the morals of any people or age a standard of judgment must be assumed. The most convenient criterion is the moral standard of our own age. By using this standard of judgment we can compare the moral ideas of any people or age with those of our own age, and decide whether they were higher or lower than ours. We may thus commend or condemn the morals of the people or age under consideration. But this criterion

cannot be used to commend or condemn the morals of any individual of another people or age than our own. The individual must be commended or condemned on the basis of the morals of his own times—as to whether he has been true or false to the moral ideals of his own people and time.

In order to compare the morals of the Babylonians and Assyrians with our own, our first task will be to find what their moral ideas were, and what was the content of their moral ideas. We shall, therefore, try to discover their Moral Ideals, their idea of Moral Evil, their moral determinants, whether they were conscious of a freedom of will or not, and what their Moral Sanctions were.

The Babylonians and Assyrians always ascribed the best they knew to their gods. If we can learn what that was we shall be in a position to state what their moral ideals were. The chief endeavour of the Babylonians and Assyrians was to please their gods, and in order to do that it was necessary that they should know what the will of the gods was. The Babylonians and Assyrians saw the will of the gods in the customs and laws of their time, for the authorship of all law and precedent was ascribed to the gods. To obey the gods, then, was to be obedient to the custom and law of the time. The Law, therefore, was the moral ideal.

But what did Babylonian and Assyrian law consist in, or by what was it characterized? It consisted in justice, righteousness, truthfulness, etc. But what was the content of justice, righteousness, truthfulness,

ness, etc.? Their content must necessarily have depended upon the customs and legal decisions of those times. The customs and legal decisions of the times, then, will define the moral ideals of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

We shall, therefore, examine the customs and legal decisions of the family, social, international, transcendental, and personal life of the Babylonians and Assyrians in order to determine what the content of their moral ideals was. And we shall begin by noting what ideals they ascribed to their gods.

The Babylonian and Assyrian referred to his god as the "sovereign of justice", the "perfect" one, the lord of "righteous" command; with him they associated such qualities as faithfulness, purity, goodness, and uprightness; and he was considered the punisher of the wicked. The deities were particularly associated with law both as originators and as administrators. They possessed law as their own, and there was a tendency to ascribe all law to them. As a rule, whatever was ascribed to the gods was "perfect", "righteous", and "just". Therefore, all law was just, because it belonged to and came from the gods. The numerous legal contracts, representing the Babylonian and Assyrian periods, illustrate the important rôle which law played in the every-day life of these peoples. The law of the gods was, in short, the moral ideal of the people. It was their standard of all "perfection" and "justice".

Now, the just law of the gods, as the moral ideal, consisted in speaking the truth, which was often

guaranteed by an oath, especially in contracts. The many Babylonian and Assyrian contracts show how great was the dependence upon a promise, which the contracting parties accepted as true. The moral ideal consisted also in what was right, which likewise was guaranteed by an oath, usually in the name of the gods; *e. g.*, a true servant is he who does what is right or good. It consisted in the recognition of honesty; *e. g.*, the home-transgressor is rewarded for his honesty in owning his wrong. It consisted in the love of justice, and the abhorrence of wickedness.

But did the Babylonians mean the same thing by *ka-gi-na*, *zi*, *dug*, etc., as we mean by "to speak justice", "righteousness", "good", etc.? Ideally, they did. Gudea tells us that during a religious festival in his time the maid was equal to her mistress, the master and the slave consorted together, the powerful and humble lay down side by side, the rich man did not wrong the orphan, the strong did not oppress the widow, and the sun shone justice and Babbar trod injustice under foot. In general, the ideal required that law be the same for the poor as for the rich.

The actual laws and customs of the times, however, will teach us how near in practice the Babylonians and Assyrians really approached this ideal. Their actual practice in these matters as compared with our own will determine their moral status as a people.

It is true that we have evidence in inscriptions that there was a great deal of freedom and real harmony, *e. g.*, in family life, and that the husband showed a real sense of duty even to a divorced wife—which,

however, may have been more the result of the presence of law—but it is evident that clemency was the father's prerogative. He could divorce his wife at will, and inflict the severest punishments upon the members of his family. In short, the father of a family had rights which no one else possessed.

To a certain extent the mother shared the father's authority and rights. Children owed obedience to her as well as to the father, and she, as well as the father, had the power of disinheritance. Both parents shared the family responsibilities. They were obliged to care for their children, and care for orphans was always demanded.

On the other hand, the power of the father always tended to be restricted by legal decisions, which became established law, *e. g.*, marriage was a legal contract; the right of the father to sell wife, son, or daughter was in time restricted to a sale which was valid only for three years; the wife's definite rights increased, *e. g.*, a man could not take a concubine without a valid excuse; a slave wife could not be sold if she bore children; and children had legal property rights. The father's control over servants was even greater than that over his wife and children, yet servants had their rights, and were treated in such a way that in turn they often showed real respect for their master.

In Babylonia and Assyria, as in all society, efforts were continually made to bring about reforms in family law, but down to the end of Babylonian and Assyrian civilization the head of the family enjoyed

peculiar rights—rights which would be called unjust when judged by the standard of modern family customs.

In social life, the king was always revered by his subjects; he was the righteous shepherd of his people, and regulated all decisions; he was full of wisdom and devotion, and by him, as the standard of justice, as well as by the gods, oaths were sworn. The ideal king was not extortionate, and took care that taxes were as light as possible; and he was merciful in battle. It was a common practice to make votive offerings for a ruler—a practice which showed real devotion to the king.

The relation between individuals demands good deeds, truthfulness, justice, and mercy. The relation of the individual to established law was that of obedience, for the established law was meant to be just, being the gift of the just gods; nor should the just decisions of the gods ever be changed.

The Babylonians and Assyrians had a keen sense of property rights, and it was here that their sense of legal justice was most highly developed. Agreements were made in all property transactions and contracts were duly drawn up in legal form, and sworn to by the name of the gods and that of the king before witnesses in the presence of proper legal officials. *E. g.*, law protected the owner or tenant from any unfair treatment. The Babylonians and Assyrians were very painstaking and exact in all business affairs, and preserved painstaking inventories of all details. Receipts were given and always

acknowledged in a regular legal fashion. The moral ideal in business life, therefore, was strict justice, truthfulness, and honesty.

Free labourers were hired in a legal way and had their definite rights, and salaries were paid according to a legal scale at set times. Even the king felt keenly his responsibility to the labouring class. Slaves, however, were not treated as freemen, but were considered the property of their master. Slaves were bought and sold just like cattle. Yet they were supposed to be morally truthful and were expected to take an oath and to act as witnesses; and they had the right to appear in a lawsuit in their own favour. They also had a certain independence, for they could contract marriage with women in the service of other masters, and could dispose of the property of their masters. The more humane rulers, such as Urukagina, from time to time tried to establish as much of liberty to all men as possible, but slavery was always the rule.

The Babylonians and Assyrians made repeated efforts to better social conditions, as the reforms in the reign of Urukagina show. He restored sacred lands that had been taken by a former king, reduced the number of unnecessary secular officials, deposed officials condemned for bribery, reduced the scale of exorbitant priestly fees, punished theft, and put a stop to forced labor.

Peace was the international and moral ideal, and many treaties were made to obtain it. They were

secured by oath in the name of the gods, and hence were established upon justice and truthfulness. The violation of a treaty was to be punished severely. Yet, in spite of treaties, wars were very frequent; but slaughter was excused as having been commanded by the gods, for wars were holy. Great care was accordingly taken to treat the dead in a proper manner.

The transcendental moral ideal of the Babylonians and Assyrians may be said to have been piety. Their gods were holy, righteous, just, truthful, pure, good, perfect, compassionate, merciful, mighty; and the right attitude towards such beings was one of obedience, love, and worship. The state as a whole recognized these obligations, as did also the individual. The gods were not only the protectors of the just, but they were also the punishers of the wicked. The temples and shrines of the gods were always thronged with devout worshippers, and the gods were the source of protection, and by their oracles their worshippers were guided.

The king's relation to the gods was of a special nature, for his distant ancestors were the very sons of the gods, and each king loved to call himself the son of his god or goddess. Moreover, they were the prophets of the gods, the intermediary between them and mankind. They were also the chief priests, and offered sacrifices and gifts for themselves and people to the gods. All the king's power was a gift from the gods, and the gods chose him and crowned him, and in return the king built temples, groves, canals, statues, shrines, etc., and dedicated them to his god.

The kings were often considered sinless, because of their devotion to the gods and to the welfare of their people.

The individual's relation to the deity was that of true obedience and pious reverence. His true attitude was "to cast down the face" before his god. Although he feared his god, he also had absolute confidence in him, as the many Babylonian and Assyrian names, expressive of this sentiment, would show. Each person had his own god to whom he especially prayed and from whom he received blessings, but all the gods were the object of personal love, reverence, and adoration.

Truth may be said to have been the personal moral ideal of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Its association in the mind of these people with justice is apparent, and it may owe its great development to their keen sense of justice. Next to veracity is piety which is so characteristic of the Babylonian and Assyrian individual, and here again the idea is wrapped up with that of justice which belongs in essence to the gods. Finally, obedience to the gods was a universal ideal, and this again is intimately associated with the idea of justice. The Babylonian and Assyrian, indeed, was most decidedly a law-abiding individual. The righteous man is always he who is true, pious, and obedient; he also was brave, but that was not an essential. The evil man was always despised and subject to malediction and punishment.

Nor is the moral ideal an external one, as might

be expected from an ancient people. The Babylonians and Assyrians, perhaps, laid a great deal of stress upon external requirements in religious matters, but their moral ideal is decidedly an internal and high one. The law must be obeyed not merely (although, perhaps, primarily) because the gods gave it, but in order that the heart may feel satisfaction. The word *azag*, meaning "clean", though often used in a way which would appear to indicate an external or ritual idea of "cleanness", is nevertheless often used in an internal and moral way. The Babylonians and Assyrians developed a keen sense of truth and obedience, and their piety sprang out of a true love of the gods and of things pertaining to them. They loved to frequent the temple of the gods, not because they were forced to do it, but because of their real inward piety.

The moral ideals of the Babylonians and Assyrians, then, may be said to have been expressed in terms of the just law of the gods, and of obedience to it. The moral attitude necessary to the realization of the ideal was obedience to the gods. The moral ideal in family life consisted in truth, justice, and righteousness; in political or social life it consisted in justice, honesty, righteousness, truth, and mercy; in international life it consisted in peace; in transcendental life in piety, obedience, love, and worship; and in personal life in truth, piety, and obedience.

Thus the moral ideals of the Babylonians and Assyrians consisted in doing the will of their gods. They were their gods' battlements and not their own. Their own battlements were their own desires.

These had to be taken away and annihilated, but the will of the gods was irrevocable.

On the other hand, human battlements gave proof of neglect of the gods. Moral evil was disobedience to the gods, and lack of faith in them. Man's life should have abundant supply for all its needs, should be rich enough, safe enough, strong enough; and yet all this abundance is not to come by or in itself, but is to be man's portion, because he is himself part and parcel of the divine life, held closely and constantly upon the bosom of the life of the gods. Man does not carry his sufficiency in himself; it is to be found in the gods. The opposite of all this is impiety, lack of faith, disobedience of the law of the gods, moral sin.

Moral evil was primarily regarded as consisting in the transgression of the law of the gods. The law of the gods was seen in the customs of the times as well as in actual codified law. Babylonian and Assyrian family custom or law was very severe upon sexual impurity; in adultery, both participants were thrown into the river; the punishment for fornication with a betrothed girl was the death of the man; even abduction was punished with death; incest of all forms was hated; and the harlot was considered unholy.

Truthfulness was at a premium, as the many oaths in the name of the gods show. The Babylonians and Assyrians were so exacting in this matter that often the veracity of the witnesses in a lawsuit was questioned and a new process was undertaken to get at

the truth. A lie was not permitted to go unnoticed; and the slanderer was severely dealt with, often by being branded.

Moral sin was believed to offend the gods because it was against their commands, and it was natural that the sinner should ask his gods for their forgiveness. The gods took cognizance of sin, and expected their clients to acknowledge it. One man prayed thus: "My queen knoweth what I have done, oh, conceive compassion; forgive my sins, lift up my countenance"; another says: "Of him who hath sin thou dost receive the petition." The gods were full of mercy.

Social moral evil consisted in oppression and cruelty. Cruelty was undoubtedly common, especially towards enemies, the king being sometimes depicted in the act of driving an arrow into the neck of a captive pleading for mercy, and oppression was common in the reign of unscrupulous kings who levied unjust revenues and heavy tribute. Personal relationship frowned upon stealing, robbery, falsehood, and slander, all of which were severely punished. The suppression of justice and bribery was common, but always condemned. Deceit in business was severely handled. Urukagina's reforms give us a fair idea of the unfavorable condition which sometimes prevailed in Babylonia and Assyria, and also of what a king like Urukagina considered socially wrong. He tells us that before his time in Lagash, excessive taxes were levied, and the taxgatherers billeted themselves on the people; that the *patesi* used to appro-

priate the property of the temple for himself and that the sacred oxen were used to plough the land of the *patesi*; that the priests grew rich at the expense of the temple and plundered the people; that they entered the garden of the people and cut trees and carried off the fruit for themselves; that they used to keep on good terms with the palace by dividing the spoil; that they oppressed the people by confiscating their property; and that they used forced labor and misused the laborers by means of force. These conditions prevailed, but they were reformed by Urukagina, who felt their great injustice. Yet it was certainly thought that sin was not confined to ceremonial, ritual, or external wrong; but was morally conceived; for sin resulted in disgrace.

International moral evil has always been cruelty and it is not surprising to find evidence of such in Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, though there is not a great deal of it.

The moral evil in Babylonian and Assyrian transcendental life is that which arouses the anger of the gods. It is not clear what that was, but disobedience or irreverence may be assumed. When the deity is vexed, devastation, murder, etc., prevail. Prayer for forgiveness and compassion was then in order.

Personal moral evil consisted in disobedience to the customs and laws of the time.

As already seen, punishments were often very severe, especially in the case of sexual sins. This may indicate a rather external, material, or ritual idea of the conception of sin. For example, a man was put

to death for committing fornication with a betrothed girl. This may be because such an act would cause a depreciation in the value of the girl in the eyes of her father, who expected to receive the bride price from her future husband. Even adultery is not punished with any such severity. But this is another instance of the relation of the father to the family, and the law was made or the custom arose with his interests in view. The same is probably the explanation of the severe punishment of an abductor.

The Babylonians and Assyrians believed that suffering always brought its own reward. One suffers what he deserves, and the gods see to it that the sinner is punished by being cursed. Suffering was considered a mental as well as a material thing.

There is no doubt, on the other hand, that sin was not always morally considered. The breaking of a ritual or ceremonial law was often considered quite as blamable as an offence against a moral law. The consecrated woman was punished with death if she ever took part in secular business, because of her ritual holiness, and she evidently was never permitted to bear children to a man who became her husband, for the same reason. The many references to the unconsecrated, and to unclean hands, likewise point to a ritual idea of sin.

As to a theory of the origin of moral evil, there is nothing to be found in Sumerian inscriptions which is equivalent to the Paradise story of the Old Testament or the *yetzer* theory of later Judaism. The interest of the Babylonians and Assyrians was practical

rather than metaphysical. They realized the existence of evil, and assumed, without debate, that it came from the world of spirits which surrounded them. They would not accuse their gods of being the origin of sin; but besides gods there were numerous demons, spiritual and unseen, beings from whom came sickness and death and to whom were ascribed all evil. The "evil eye" was the malevolent glance of the demon.

Moral evil in Babylonia and Assyria consisted primarily in a violation of the customs and laws of the gods and was expressed in sexual sin in family life; in oppression and cruelty, falsehood and injustice, in social life; in cruelty in international life; and perhaps in disobedience and irreverence in transcendental and personal life.

With the idea of a sense of moral evil must go a feeling of free will. Evil cannot be considered blamable unless there is a certain freedom of the will. If a man has no choice but to do evil, he cannot be held accountable for the evil which he has no power to avoid. The Babylonians and Assyrians had a sense of moral evil as distinguished from ritual and ceremonial "wrong" or incorrectness. They differentiated moral right from moral wrong. They felt themselves *morally* responsible. This their numerous contracts are sufficient to show. "The house-usurper was cognizant" that what he had done was wrong; and that he had consciously and wilfully done an evil deed.

On the other hand, as in the Old Testament and later Jewish literature, there is evidence in inscrip-

tions to show that the Babylonians and Assyrians believed to a certain extent in predestination. They spoke of the "tablets of fate of the gods", and of one being inscribed into the book of life. In the word *nam-tar-tar-ri-e-ne*, the use of the plural *e-ne* shows that the Sumerians, and following them, the Babylonians and Assyrians, considered the fates to be deities. The gods were believed to have the power of directing the world and each man's destiny was in a broad and general way prescribed by them. This did not, however, prevent them from believing at the same time that each man had the personal power, with the help of the gods, of directing his immediate acts. Nor did they feel any incongruity in these two seemingly opposite ideas. The belief in prayer to the gods assumed a belief in freedom from predetermined destiny.

Moral determinants may be enumerated as, heredity, environment, social tradition, and personal initiative. These forces always condition a people's morals.

Let us, then, examine Babylonian and Assyrian customs in the light of these forces. The family was, we know, patriarchal, at least in historical times. The father was head and owner of the family. He owned wife and child just as he did sheep or oxen, and had the legal right to dispose of them. Patriarchal rights were handed on from generation to generation, and though from time to time decisions were made limiting that right, and these decisions gradually became law, yet the patriarchal rights among the Babylonians and Assyrians were to a great extent hereditary. The

environment of society was such that it tended to accentuate the right of the *pater familias*. The government was monarchical, each city at first having its own prince or king. The family was a government in miniature, and the necessity of the preservation of family integrity demanded a leader and head in which all family life and forces could centre. That leader was necessarily the strong one of the family; as a rule, the father.

Every society is conditioned *ab extra* by an environment or atmosphere which we call social tradition, and in the case of the Babylonians and Assyrians this further tended to emphasize the established nature of the family as a group of individuals looking to the father as head.

There were, however, always those stronger persons who possessed sufficient force of character to disregard by personal initiative certain social customs, and this is how we account for certain definite progressive strides in ancient civilization. It likewise explains how that in Babylonian and Assyrian society the father of the family was often forced to recognize the rights of inferior members of the family. But heredity, environment, and social tradition were so strong in the family life that to the end the father remained virtually dictator of family affairs, and personal initiative never played much of a rôle.

The same may be said of the effects of heredity, environment, social tradition, and personal initiative in social, international, transcendental, and personal life. The actions of a king, or state, or individual,

were conditioned by heredity, even as they were by environment and tradition, and yet there was always a place for personal initiative. These circumstances must always be taken into consideration in the determination of the nature of the morals of any people or age.

There is all through the best and most earnest thought and life of men the vision of a great attainment. That man, the individual man and the universal man, is what he is only in preparation for something far vaster and more perfect than he is—this is the practical doctrine of all earnest and religious men. It appears in all religions—this doctrine of the great attainment, the belief in the lofty something which it is possible for man to become, although no man, purely man, has become it yet.

But though the Babylonians and Assyrians shared with all mankind this lofty ideal, its power as a moral sanction was greatly limited, because of their inability to allow its extension into the idealism of a life beyond the grave. Their moral sanctions, consequently, lacked that driving power, which otherwise would have been realized had they not been foreshortened by the limitations of mere mortal existence.

Moral sanctions or considerations which give force and authority to moral laws may be either external or internal. They may refer to rewards and punishments imposed from without, or to consequences of conduct which arise spontaneously from within. The Babylonians' and Assyrians' respect for the just law of the gods is the nearest approach we find to an in-

ternal moral sanction in their religion. It is true, disobedience to the law called forth punishment, and in that respect, was an external moral sanction, but obedience to the law had become hereditary and traditional and the virtue of keeping the law was perhaps its own reward. The moral ideal was perfection or sinlessness, and that state could be arrived at only through obedience to the law.

The most potent Babylonian and Assyrian moral sanction, however, consisted in rewards and punishments imposed from without by an external authority in the present, that authority being either divine or a constituted legal authority. The gods became angry with the sinful and punished them; and established law provided punishment for the offender.

Unlike the Hebrews there was no appeal to future rewards and punishments in Sumerian thought. The Babylonians and Assyrians believed in the survival of the soul (*edimmu*) in the future, in Arallu, the land of the dead; but Arallu was a "place of desolation". Offerings were made for the dead, but primarily for the purpose of keeping them from harming the living. In the Babylonian and Assyrian conception of life after death, the moral factor was entirely absent. Nor did the gods ever concern themselves with the dead, who lived in a gloomy and silent habitation. What happiness a man may desire must be secured in this life, and hence moral standards were completely adapted to the present needs, without any reference to the future. The future, therefore, did not hold any moral sanction for the Babylonians and the Assyrians

as it did for the Hebrews. It was in this life that moral sanctions were to be found, and they were found chiefly in the fact that the gods demanded obedience to just laws—adherence to moral standards.

In conclusion it may be well to enumerate the main features of Babylonian and Assyrian morals, and to make an estimate of them. In making this estimate we must be careful to distinguish between national and individual morals, for while the morals of a nation may be commended or condemned in comparison with the morals of our own time, individual morals must be judged in the light of the customs of the age of the particular individual under consideration.

Our study of the morals of the Babylonians and of the Assyrians as a nation has revealed certain defects. Their idea of the deity was far inferior to ours, for while they considered the gods to be the source of all justice, truth, righteousness, etc., yet their justice, truth, and righteousness were national and not international. Moreover their gods were conceived in a very anthropomorphic way, and were subject to the need of change and repentance just as men are. In short their moral conception of their gods was a limited one, but very high within these limitations. Again, their idea of the rights and privileges of the head of the family was inferior when considered in the light of the twentieth century, but its limitations were due to the customs and traditions of the time. "Convention is king over all," says Pin-dar, and according as convention changed, so the

rights of the father were more and more limited. Another defect was noted in connection with the subject of punishment. Many of the punishments regulated by the law were far too harsh in our judgment, but they again were regulated by custom and tradition, for certain punishments which are considered just in the twentieth century may be considered equally harsh in the thirtieth century. The *lex talionis* and capital punishment serve not only to show how comparatively cruel the Babylonians and Assyrians were, but they may also be taken as an indication of the great abhorrence felt by them for certain types of sin. Slavery was another national defect, but that again was in order among all ancient peoples. That the slaves enjoyed certain very definite rights was a step in that direction which finally led to the banishment of slavery; but not till many thousands of years had passed. There were other defects, if we judge these people by our twentieth century standards; *e. g.*, the people apparently had very little share in the government; magic controlled much of the religious life, and sin was likely to be very physically conceived. But here again we must keep in mind the moral determinants of the age, *e. g.*, heredity, environment, and social tradition.

On the other hand, our study has revealed to us much evidence of real moral strength in the character of the Babylonians and Assyrians. We have seen that their moral ideals were very high, and that their practice often very nearly approximated their ideals. The moral ideal in family life, we have seen, was

truth, justice, and righteousness; in political or social life it was justice and righteousness, truth and mercy; in business life it was justice, truthfulness, and honesty; in international life it was peace, established upon justice and truth; in transcendental life it was piety, consisting in obedience, love, and worship; and in personal life it was truth. In short, justice and truth were the great fundamental moral ideals of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Nor was the moral ideal merely external, consisting in a materialistic morality; it was certainly also internal, being persisted in out of a desire for real heartfelt satisfaction.

Their idea of moral evil was a very discriminating one. Moral evil generally consisted in a transgression of the laws of the gods. In family life it consisted chiefly in injustice and immorality; in social and political life, in oppression and cruelty; in international life, in cruelty; in transcendental life, in irreverence; and in personal life, in disobedience. These moral evils were strongly detested and severely punished. In short, moral evil consisted in the violation of the laws and customs of the times, or in other words in the violation of the will of the gods. Sin was often considered ceremonially, but it was certainly also considered from a purely moral point of view.

Moral sanctions have also been considered, and we found that here also there was not lacking a real internal sanction, though the predominating one was external.

The individual Babylonian and Assyrian cannot be judged in the light of the twentieth century. He must be commended or condemned according as he

obeyed or disobeyed the laws of his time. He was, as is every individual of every age, controlled by certain moral determinants, such as heredity, environment, and social tradition. All these must be taken into consideration in our estimation of his morals. We have, accordingly, found that the Babylonian and Assyrian was a truthful, just, and pious individual; he was conscious of a certain amount of free will; he was accustomed to weigh motives and intentions; and yet he felt that his life and destiny were in a way controlled by the gods.

In short, our study of Babylonian and Assyrian morals has led us to believe that as a people they may be said to have been especially characterized by their devotion to justice and truthfulness; and in spite of the presence of much materialism in their social life, and of much regard for ceremonial in their religious life, their moral ideals were singularly high. Judged by a twentieth century standard they were as a nation on a much lower level, generally, than the nations of the Western world. On the other hand, there is nothing to show that the individual Babylonian and Assyrian, judged as he must be by the moral standards of his own time, was anything else than a truthful, just, law-abiding, and pious subject of his king and gods.

As we look back over our study of the religious and moral ideas of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and recall their exalted piety and reverence for their gods, the consciousness of their continual dependence upon them, and the ideals which they ascribed to them; as we recall their doctrine of man and his relationship to

the gods, his dependence upon them, and his effort to emulate them; as we think of the system they had developed to preserve intact a continual communication between themselves and the gods; and especially as we contemplate the height of moral purpose and the depth of moral insight to which they had attained, we can well be puzzled by the barrenness of their faith in the future. Their faith in the gods, in man, in the power of mediation, and in moral goodness, was a great force in their daily life. They seemed to gather living force, wisdom, and faith, out of every experience, and to apply them to this faith in the gods and in man, in mediation, and in morality. But the accumulation of faith stopped short at this point. They were like the peevish and complaining Israelites, who, in spite of Jehovah's care for them in the past, could not believe that he could give bread also, and flesh for his people.

The symmetry of their religious and moral life was destroyed by their lack of faith in the future. They had developed the height of their mystic religious city. Its reach towards the divine had made excellent progress. They had developed its breadth, its outreach laterally. They understood human nature, and had made great strides along the lines of social and national development. They had built up great and reliable institutions of commerce, trade, and law. But the length of their mystic city of religious thought was miserably dwarfed. It practically ended with this life. There was no reaching forward with eagerness to a future life. Their religion remained a

mundane one; their morals did not reckon with the future.

This was the limitation which blighted the Babylonian and Assyrian religion. The debt which the world owes Babylonia and Assyria in science, commerce, art, literature, morality, and especially law, is deep and lasting. The science of astronomy was born in the cradle of Assyrian astrology; the technique of commerce was developed and perfected in the shops and market-places of Babylon and Nineveh, with great merchants, such as the "House of Murashu and Sons"; art, especially of the plastic type, was perfected in Babylonia over two thousand years before Christ; literature had made mighty strides before history in Greece was born; morality seems to have been native in a high form with the earliest Babylonians; and the Code of Hammurapi not only surpassed the laws of Manu and of the Roman Twelve Tables, but antedated them by many hundreds of years. The institutions of Western civilization are permeated through and through with Babylonian and Assyrian culture. We cannot reckon time without doing so in terms of Babylonian mathematics; we cannot make out a receipt without signing it in a Babylonian way; we cannot seal a letter without using an Assyrian patent; we cannot think of the creation of the world or of the catastrophies which the glacial period left in its trail without making use of Babylonian and Assyrian cosmological ideas; we cannot draw up a code of ethics without using Assyrian and Babylonian models; and we cannot draw up a legal

contract, in legal terms, without the use of Babylonian technical phraseology.

No race has more profoundly impressed the world's civilization in these matters than the Babylonians and Assyrians. But their primitive conception of the future became so encrusted, so hardened, that no influences from without were ever able to reach it. Nor was the crust ever broken. That crust finally crippled all religious effort. A religion and morality which had the possibilities of so much within them became diseased at the core with a malady which caused their death. The Babylonian and Assyrian religion is a sad example of a one-sided religion, whose inevitable outcome is decay. Mighty Babylon and Assyria's grandeur have not left themselves without excellent witnesses of their priceless gifts to human endeavour, but their temple of religious insight must always remain a ruin, albeit an interesting, instructive, and grand one.

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